

COINS STRUCK BY THE MONEYSER WALTER OR WALTIER, IN THE REIGNS OF STEPHEN, HENRY II, AND RICHARD I

By WILLIAM C. WELLS

IN the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1862, pp. 189-90, Archdeacon Pownall published a description of a penny of Stephen, type *Hawkins*, 270, in his own collection, struck from an intentionally defaced obverse die. This defacement consisted of a large rectangular cross cut into the face of the die, causing such defacement that Stephen's profile was nearly obliterated. For a number of years this coin stood alone, but in 1880 a hoard of coins, principally of the reign of Stephen, was discovered at Nottingham, which contained several coins of Stephen, type *Hawkins*, 270, of the Norwich mint, struck from similarly defaced dies. In the Sheldon hoard, discovered in 1867, was a coin of the same reign and type similarly defaced, but of the Thetford mint, and other similar specimens are described in the *British Museum Catalogue, Norman Kings*, p. lxxviii. On some of the Norwich pieces an additional small cross appears in two of the angles of the larger cross.

In the Nottingham and Sheldon hoards were a number of coins of Stephen's first type, of the Nottingham mint, struck from defaced obverse dies. In this case, however, the defacement consisted of a small cross calvary, sometimes with a pellet in one angle of the cross. The cross extended from the king's shoulder to his profile, which in some cases was obliterated.

In Hawkins's *Silver Coins*, p. 178, it is suggested that "these coins were probably struck by a partisan of Matilda, who wished to use Stephen's dies, but not to acknowledge Stephen's title". This view is now generally accepted and the late W. J. Andrew adopts it in his description of the Sheldon hoard, where he attributes the issue of the greater part of the Norwich and Thetford defaced coins to Hugh Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, and the Nottingham coins to William Peverel, Earl of Nottingham.

In 1139 or 1140 Hugh Bigod threw off his allegiance and fortified his castles against the king. Bungay was his seat, but Norwich and Thetford were under his influence. At Whitsuntide 1140 Stephen advanced against Bigod and although he besieged and captured Bungay Castle he did not subdue Bigod, who was probably at Norwich. Ultimately, however, they came to terms. At the battle of Lincoln, in February 1141, Hugh Bigod fought beside Stephen but was overthrown and fled. Shortly afterwards he treated with Matilda and attended her court. If these defaced Norwich and Thetford coins were issued by order of Bigod they were probably struck shortly after the battle of Lincoln, when Bigod went over to Matilda's cause.

Mr. Andrew attributes the issue of the Nottingham defaced coins to William Peverel, Earl of Nottingham, who, in 1139, revolted from Stephen and fortified all his castles against him. Peverel remained in revolt until 1141, when he became reconciled to the king in whose

army he fought at the battle of Lincoln, when he was captured and went into captivity with Stephen.

In the British Museum collection (*ex* Montagu and Marsham collections) is a penny of Stephen's first coinage (*Hawkins*, 270), defaced on the obverse with a large rectangular cross extending from edge to edge of the coin, and the reverse inscribed ✠ WALTER: ON: NO. In the Carlyon-Britton collection was a coin from the same dies. Others, with similar reading, but from different dies, are in the Nottingham Museum and another was formerly in the Roth collection. These coins have hitherto been allocated to the Norwich mint, and the late Dr. Brooke, in the *British Museum Catalogue, Norman Kings*, accepted that allocation, as have all other numismatists who have written on the coinage of Stephen. But with all deference to those authorities who have accepted the Norwich identification, the present writer claims that Walter's coins did not emanate from Norwich but were positively struck at the Northampton mint.

The coins issued by Walter commence with the first type of Stephen and continue until Class IIIa of the Short-Cross series, the issue of which commenced in 1194, and the mint-town is indicated variously by NO, NOR, NORh, NORhA, NORhT, NORāM, NON &c., but in no case do they exhibit a form which can be definitely identified as indicating Norwich, and I venture to think that numismatists will agree that all the foregoing abbreviated forms on Walter's coins indicate one mint only, viz. that of Northampton and not Norwich.

The Linton find disclosed a penny of Stephen, type II, *Hawkins*, 269, inscribed ✠ PALTIER: ON: NON, which Wakeford, in his account of the find, allocated to the Norwich mint, and not only does that allocation not appear to have been previously questioned but other coins of Stephen by the moneyer Walter, reading NOR, have been similarly assigned to Norwich. In the writer's cabinet is a coin of the Short-Cross series, Class IIIa, reading ✠ WALTIR. ON. NON. Now, NON, whether upon coins issued in the reign of Stephen, or of Richard I, is in no way a contracted form of Norwich nor can it in any way indicate that mint, but it is a natural contracted form for Northampton.

In twelfth- and thirteenth-century manuscripts the usual contracted forms for Northampton are "Norh'n", "Nort'n", "Norht'n", &c., and occasionally we find the form "No'n", or "Nōn". One of the foregoing abbreviations would generally form part of a diesinker's instructions for making a Northampton coin die, but, with the exception of some of the Long-Cross coins of Henry III, the abbreviation signs were usually ignored by the diesinker who would render "No'n", "Non", or even less contracted forms, NON, omitting the abbreviation signs, as upon the Stephen and Short-Cross coins described above, the full form being NO[RhA]N, or NO[RhANTO]N.

As stated above, it is suggested that these coins from defaced dies were struck by partisans of Matilda, who wished to use Stephen's dies, but not to acknowledge Stephen's title, hence the defacement of the

king's portrait and title on the obverse. If Andrew's theory as to the allocation of these defaced coins be correct, the transference of Walter's coins from Norwich to Northampton creates a position which is difficult to explain. The difficulty is that Earl Simon of Northampton was always a staunch supporter of Stephen; he fought beside the king at the battle of Lincoln and was one of the three Earls who remained faithful to Stephen and to the queen during the king's captivity, and after Stephen's liberation Simon accompanied him to the north. Consequently the suggestions put forward connecting Earls Bigod and Peverel with the Norwich and Nottingham defaced coins will not apply in the case of Earl Simon, who cannot be held responsible for the striking and issue of Walter's coins from defaced dies. The difficulty may be explained by the suggestion that the die was secretly defaced by an Angevin adherent, possibly Walter himself, and that both the defacement of the die and the striking of the coins was carried out in Earl Simon's absence and without his knowledge. But whatever the explanation may be, there can be no doubt that the coins were struck from Northampton dies. I may add that we have no coins struck from these dies prior to their defacement.

The following coins by Walter have come under the writer's notice:

Reign	Type	Reverse inscription	Provenance, &c.
Stephen	Hawkins, 270	✠ PĀLTII[ER: ON]: NOR:	South Kyme hoard
"	"	✠ WĀLTIER: ON: NO	British Museum
"	(Defaced obverse) Hawkins, 269	[✠ P]ĀLTIER: ON: NON	Linton hoard
Henry II	" 285	✠ WĀLTIER: ON: NORHĀ	Heywood's list (<i>B.N.J.</i> , 1905)
"	" "	✠ WĀLTIER: ON: [NOR]h	L. A. Lawrence
"	" "	✠ WALTERE: ON: NOR	Ex Carlyon-Britton col- lection
"	Short-Cross, 1a	✠ WĀLTÆR. ON. NORAM	L. A. Lawrence; W. C. Wells
"	" "	✠ WĀLTÆR. ON. NOR	British Museum; L. A. Lawrence
"	" 1b	✠ WĀLTÆR. ON. NORH	W. C. Wells
"	" "	✠ WĀLTÆR. ON. NOR	Brit. Mus.; L. A. Lawrence; W. C. Wells
"	" 1c	✠ WĀLTÆR. ON. NOR	W. C. Wells
Richard I	" IIIa	✠ WĀLTIR. ON. NOR	British Museum
"	" "	✠ WĀLTIR. ON. NON	W. C. Wells

¹ Wakeford, in his account of the Linton hoard, gives the obverse reading as ✠ WĀLTIER: ON: NON; in the Montagu sale catalogue it is given as [✠ W]ĀLTIER: ON: NON; and in the *Brit. Mus. Cat.* on the halfpenny, from the same dies and also from the Linton hoard, the moneyer's name is suggested as reading ✠ PĀLTIER.

THE COINAGES OF EDWARD IV AND OF HENRY VI (RESTORED)

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GENERAL TREATMENT

(I had accumulated material on Edward IV for some years, but as the war prevented my continuing with the work, Mr. Whitton agreed to collaborate with me in preparing it for publication. Although the following remarks and certain other sections had already been written by myself, the bulk of the work can justly be regarded as the joint effort of us both. C. E. B.)

My aim in this paper has been to collect and co-ordinate the scattered material which has been written from time to time on the coinage of Edward IV, to make such additions as have come to my notice and such amendments as appeared necessary, and to present the whole in a manner which will be of value and assistance both to the general numismatist and to the specialist. For the latter, reference is made in footnotes to sources of information.¹

I have consciously departed from current practice in one respect, and I should like to give my reasons for doing so. Over the last forty years there has been an ever-increasing tendency to specialization in English numismatics, and this has resulted in the dating of medieval coins with an accuracy which numismatists of the last century would never have dreamed possible. While much of this is undoubtedly sound, it has inevitably had the effect of reducing to almost negligible proportions the number of numismatists who are competent to deal with any one subject and the number of readers who can derive enjoyment from them. This, I think, is to be regretted, since it reduces the amount of critical study to so few persons.

In the paper which follows I have therefore attempted to write more on the lines of some of the earlier numismatists of this century and to present as broad a picture as possible of the coinage as a whole. In doing so I am fully aware that I shall be open to criticism and to the suggestion that I am reverting to the unscholarly days of the past, but I hope that I may be meeting with the wishes of numismatists in general without sacrificing the lessons that have been learnt in these years of accruing knowledge.

In pursuance of this policy the lists at the end of the paper do not attempt to record every minor variety of stopping, of which there is an infinite number in the coins of Edward IV, much less to record every known die. But I have attempted to record any variety which appears to have some significance.

¹ The principal papers are those of the late Mr. F. A. Walters, "The Coinage of the Reign of Edward IV", *Num. Chron.*, 1909, p. 131 (first reign); 1910, p. 117 (Henry VI restored); 1914, p. 330 (second reign); and of the late Mr. H. Symonds, "Mint Accounts and Documents of Edward IV", *Num. Chron.*, 1926, p. 99. Well illustrated articles by Mr. L. A. Lawrence and Mr. R. Carlyon-Britton may also be consulted in *Brit. Num. Journ.* viii. 149 and xvii. 125. For Henry VI see also D. F. Allen, *Num. Chron.*, 1937, p. 28.

The basis of the classification has been the initial marks, and the relative provincial coins have been associated as far as possible with the corresponding ones of London. The use of dies of local manufacture, notably at Durham, has, however, not made this always possible.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The circumstances of the accession of Edward IV, the culmination of the first phase of the Wars of the Roses, are well known: there neither is need nor have we space to repeat them here. Of his character it need only be said that in 1461 he was a somewhat headstrong and extravagant young man, perhaps a little spoiled by his successes at Mortimer's Cross and Towton, for he was not yet nineteen years of age.¹ Little need be said either of his claim to the throne—he was at least a great-grandson of Edward III. In this connexion it has been remarked that, if the people and Parliament were ready to accept him, it was not so much for the goodness of his Yorkist pedigree as because of the badness of the Lancastrian government. In the case of Parliament perhaps the readiness was partly due to their realization that resistance to the Earl of Warwick's soldiers at Westminster was impossible.

For a time things went well enough with Edward, but he soon began to show a somewhat natural impatience with the tutelage of the powerful earl who had helped him win the throne. We need not accuse the king of ingratitude. In placing him on the throne Warwick had no doubt chiefly considered the advancement of himself and his own party, for the nobles had grown accustomed during the long reign of the unfortunate Henry VI to regard the king's person as something to be exploited for their private ends. But Edward was a very different man from Henry VI. To throw off the unwelcome attentions of Warwick the king proceeded to build up his own party. He married several of the sisters of his somewhat *bourgeois* wife, Elizabeth Wodeville, to persons of importance. Furthermore, his own sister Margaret became the wife of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, who had long been Warwick's enemy. The breach between Edward and the earl, jealous of the king's new friends whom he regarded as upstarts, was soon complete. In addition the new party incurred the disapproval of the Church, still led by such aristocrats as Neville and Bouchier, themselves both descendants of Edward III.

Hostilities broke out in 1468, and though the king was at first successful he became careless with victory and soon lost all his advantage. Warwick was able to join forces abroad with Margaret, wife of the imprisoned Henry VI, whose son she still hoped one day to place upon the throne. On their invasion of the country Edward was obliged in September 1470 to take refuge with his brother-in-law Charles the Bold.

Once more Henry VI was placed on the throne by the victorious and now Lancastrian Warwick. But during the leisure of his exile Edward

¹ He was born 28 Apr. 1442 and acceded 4 Mar. 1461.

learned his lesson; he was moreover not a man to be easily discouraged. With the help of his brother-in-law he was soon able to return to England, where he entered London in April 1471.¹ He captured King Henry and his guardian Archbishop Neville, Warwick's brother, and marched out to meet the earl at Barnet on Easter Eve 1471. The king's victory and the death of the earl were soon followed at Tewkesbury by the defeat of Margaret and the death of her son.

But although the king's potential rival to the throne was eliminated, there remained the possibility of danger from some too powerful adherent of his own party. Edward determined that there should be no more Earls of Warwick. If despotism was the only alternative, he was not afraid: he would at least not repeat the mistake of the constitutional Lancastrian king who had played into the hands of a selfish aristocracy.

To rule as he desired, wealth was a necessity—and it was not, men said, always blamelessly obtained. It was noted by his critics, and apparently with some truth, that he "seized the revenues of vacant prelacies which according to Magna Carta could not be sold and obliged the newly-appointed bishops to redeem them at a price";² the known complications of Edward's ecclesiastical coinage amply justify the charge.

An episode of his later years also deserves special mention as perhaps having repercussions on the currency. In 1476 an invasion of France was averted by Louis XI paying Edward what we may call "Danegeld" of 75,000 crowns in gold and promising him an annual pension of 50,000 crowns, money which possibly provided some of the bullion for the output of gold in the last few years of the reign. Edward died in April 1483, not quite forty-one years of age.

Historians are agreed that bitter as the fighting had been during the first decade of Edward's reign, there was on the whole little distress and disorganization generally in the country. The participants in the struggle had been mainly the noble families on either side, and if as the outcome of war many of them suffered death or exile or the loss of their estates, the men who lived on their land as their tenants were on the whole no worse off than before. In particular, commercial life in the towns seems to have proceeded much as usual, and the fortunes of the increasing *bourgeois* and capitalist class, especially in the wool and cloth trades, and in commerce overseas from ports like Bristol, continued to flourish undiminished; and it may be that if, despite the shortage of gold, there was at no time anything approaching chaos in the currency, it was the growing influence of this class of citizen which was able, despite the political troubles, to ensure a constant supply of bullion for the Mint.³

Nevertheless, it is evident from the steps the king found himself

¹ His deposition dates from 3 Oct. 1470 to 11 Apr. 1471.

² *Croyland Continuator*, 562; see Vickers, *England in the Later Middle Ages*, p. 482.

³ The absence of records of the coinage between 1461 and 1463 may possibly be attributed to the political unrest.

obliged to take that in 1464 the currency of the country was on the verge of one of those periodically recurring crises inseparable from a system where money has an intrinsic value and new supplies of bullion are not sufficient to replace the loss through wear and tear. In that year, perhaps under the stress of the costly civil war, the king virtually reduced the weight of both the gold and silver money. Historians have doubted the wisdom of this action on the king's part, but it seems likely that he had no choice, and that in no other way in such circumstances (save by increasing the admixture of alloy) can the currency be preserved. But the change was not without advantage to the king. Not only did he derive profit through the usual charges for seigniorage, but the vast recoinage of silver spread his name on the new money throughout the length and breadth of the land. To a king whose just title was open to some doubt prestige was everything. It is not irrelevant to add that Henry VI in his restoration coinage showed a similar eagerness to replace Edward's name by his own.

The new currency of Edward IV is one of the landmarks in English numismatics and deserves special mention, not only by reason of the long stability which it enjoyed, but also for its introduction of two celebrated new pieces, the ryal and the angel. Their popularity became so wide that they were imitated abroad, after the continental practice, to an even greater extent than the old Edwardian noble or the "Henricus" of the Lancastrian kings. It has been conjectured that Edward himself may have sponsored some of these imitations during his exile with Charles the Bold. The practical utility of the new coins was that they corrected the mistaken estimate which had been made of the value of the old noble when it was raised from 6s. 8d. to 8s. 4d., and also provided very useful coins as "money of account", for which the mark (13s. 4d.) was almost as widely utilized as the pound. The angel of 6s. 8d. going two to the mark and three to the pound, was even more useful than the ryal which, although it went two to the pound, yet split the mark fractionally. Indeed, the ryal disappeared in a few years, partly owing to this competition of the angel, but also, perhaps, partly to that of some of the various imitations of the ryal which were always a few grains lighter. Another fault was that the large flan made the coin too thin for practical use, so that it was liable to crack or even to break.

Contemporary documents like the *Paston Letters* occasionally refer to the coin. At first they show the inconvenient 8s. 4d. noble, for a time in circulation side by side with the ryal, but soon supplanted by it. The angel is not mentioned in the same letters (and even then it is called a noble) until 1471, a date which accords very well with our knowledge that the angel was not extensively struck before the restoration of Henry VI.

As for the silver, some pertinent remarks about it are to be found in the work of a recent student of the currency, Mr. Feaveryear,¹ who has pointed out that if, on the reduction of the groat from 60 to 48

¹ *The Pound Sterling*, Oxford, 1932, p. 41.

grains in 1464, all the silver brought to the Mint had been of full weight, the increase in the total nominal value of the circulation would have been only 20 per cent. "As it was", he continues, "it was probably less than 10%. Moreover since it was the heavier coins which were brought in, they came in all probability from hoards, and the new coins given in exchange went back into those hoards. It therefore seems unlikely that the actual recoinage did much to inflate the currency." He adds: "These considerations may explain why there was no sudden rise of prices after 1464."

The accuracy of these conjectures is confirmed by some recent experiments that were made in weighing some 500 heavy groats of Henry VI whose silver we may justifiably suppose formed the bulk of the currency in 1464. These groats were found to average nearly 56 grains each. Such pieces when recoined into groats of 48 grains would increase the total currency in circulation by about 16 per cent., but it must be remembered that since these coins have survived it is likely that they had been hoarded for the very reason that they were heavier than the average. Mr. Feaveryear's estimate therefore of 10 per cent. or a little less cannot be far wrong.

To sum up, there seems reason to suppose that the new coinage, since it caused no general rise in prices, did something to enhance both public confidence and the national prestige.

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

The following are the principal sources of documentary evidence regarding the coinage of Edward IV:

1. The Patent Rolls (pub. 1899-1901) which contain particulars of the various indentures, sundry appointments at the Mint, orders regarding the royal provincial mints and the granting of a licence to the Bishop of Durham to make his own dies and to strike halfpence.
2. The Foreign Rolls from which the late Miss Stokes extracted the Mint accounts published in *Num. Chron.*, 1929, pp. 27 ff., and reproduced here in a slightly expanded form on pp. 9-10.
3. Exchequer Accounts, K.R. 302/13, quoted by Symonds in *Num. Chron.*, 1926, pp. 94 ff., containing a full account of a pyx trial.
4. A document quoted by Ruding (vol. iii, p. 146), source not given, which shows the quantity of old gold and silver (presumably of Henry VI) brought to the Mint between 1465 and 1468 to be recoined.
5. Durham Chancery Rolls, given by Ruding, who quotes Noble's *Mint and Coins of the Bishops of Durham*. These provide certain particulars of the dies made locally for Bishops Lawrence Booth and William Dudley.
6. The Charter Rolls, quoted by Brooke, *Brit. Num. Journ.* xxi, p. 79, which define the rights of the Archbishops of Canterbury in respect of the coinage.
7. Foreign Roll, quoted by Symonds, *Num. Chron.*, 1926, pp. 99 ff., which contains a reference to an indenture for coinage dated 23 May 1461, which is otherwise unknown.

8. K.R. Memoranda Roll 6 Edward IV, which contains the indenture for the coinage dated 6 March 1465. This important indenture has not hitherto been published and is therefore given in full on p. 53.

Indentures

There are records of seven indentures for the coinage:

1461, 23 May. Referred to above. Particulars not known, but it may be assumed that it was on similar lines to the later indentures of Henry VI.

1464, 13 August with Hastings. Weight of the penny to be reduced from 15 grains to 12. Weight of the gold unchanged, but the noble to pass for 8s. 4d. instead of 6s. 8d.¹

1465, 6 March with Hastings. Referred to above. No change in the silver, but the farthing is specifically mentioned. The gold to be reformed by the issue of the "New Noble", that is, the ryal or rose-noble of 120 grains to pass for 10s., and its half and quarter in proportion, and an angel to pass for 6s. 8d. and its half in proportion. This in effect involved a slight reduction in the standard of the gold.²

1469, 2 March with Hastings. Standards and weights similar to 1465. The seigniorage reduced.³

1472, 23 February with Hastings. As 1469. The seigniorage further reduced.⁴

1477, 3 February with Hastings. As 1472.⁵

1483, 12 February with Reed. As 1477.⁶

THE MINT ACCOUNTS

The accounts⁷ published by Miss Stokes can be slightly expanded as a result of the figures given in the narrative of the only recorded pyx trial,⁸ and although the totals of the various months' coinages do not exactly tally with the figures given by Miss Stokes, they are close enough⁹ to justify the compilation of the following composite table:

LONDON	Period	(Pounds Tower)	
		Gold	Silver
Michaelmas 1460-15 Sept. 1462	2 yrs.	No record	
15 Sept. 1462-1 Sept. 1464	2 yrs.	293	11,885
1 Sept. 1464-Michaelmas 1466	2 yrs. 1 mth.	12,389	55,334
Michaelmas 1466-26 Oct. 1468	2 yrs. 1 mth.	No record ¹⁰	
26 Oct. 1468-28 Sept. 1469	11 mths.	2,044	8,147
28 Sept. 1469-30 Sept. 1470	1 yr.	2,289	8,065
30 Sept. 1470-11 May 1471	7 mths.	No record	
11 May 1471-30 Sept. 1471	5 mths.	879	5,246

¹ *Patent Rolls*, vol. i. 370.

² Memoranda Roll, Exch. K.R. 6 Edw. IV, m. 45.

³ *Pat. Rolls*, vol. ii. 138.

⁴ *Ibid.* 313.

⁵ *Ibid.* iii. 20.

⁶ *Ibid.* 340.

⁷ *Num. Chron.*, 1929, pp. 27 ff.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 1926, pp. 99 ff.

⁹ 7,565 against 7,548 lb. of gold; 36,278 lb. against 36,314 of silver.

¹⁰ The Mint was certainly not inactive during this period. Ruding gives amounts of old coin brought to the Mint to be exchanged as follows: 16 Sept. 1465 to Mich. 1466, 137,875 old nobles and 3,845 pounds Troy of silver; Mich. 1466 to Mich. 1467, 60,163 old nobles, 3,486 pounds Troy of silver; Mich. 1467 to Easter 1468, 33,300 old nobles and 1,800 pounds Troy of silver. This would of course be only part of the total coinage.

LONDON	Period	(Pounds Tower)	
		Gold	Silver
	30 Sept. 1471-30 Sept. 1472	1 yr.	2,150 10,720
	30 Sept. 1472-30 Sept. 1473	1 yr.	1,674 7,173
	30 Sept. 1473-30 Sept. 1474	1 yr.	1,533 5,994
	30 Sept. 1474-29 Sept. 1475	1 yr.	1,312 7,181
	29 Sept. 1475-6 May 1476	7 mths.	451 1,923
	6 May 1476-Michaelmas 1477	1 yr. 5 mths.	1,811 4,211
	Michaelmas 1477-Michaelmas 1478	1 yr.	1,121 2,092
	Michaelmas 1478-14 Sept. 1479	1 yr.	1,041 2,611
	14 Sept. 1479-Michaelmas 1480	1 yr.	1,387 1,950
	Michaelmas 1480-Michaelmas 1481	1 yr.	794 975
	Michaelmas 1481-Michaelmas 1482	1 yr.	768 1,711
	Michaelmas 1482-23 Apr. 1483	7 mths.	238 587

The following fragmentary accounts of Bristol and York are all that are known of the provincial mints:

BRISTOL			
	29 Sept. 1469-30 Sept. 1470	1 yr.	142 1,041
	14 Apr. 1471-23 July 1472	1 yr. 3 mths.	117 903
YORK			
	29 Sept. 1469-30 Sept. 1470	1 yr.	88 1,312
	14 Apr. 1471-Sept. 1471 ¹	5 mths.	54 242

THE REFORM OF THE COINAGE, 1464-5

Between his accession in 1461 and 1464 Edward IV struck money according to the weight and standard of his predecessor, Henry VI. In 1464, however, he decided to lower the standard of the coinage. His reasons for doing so are given in his proclamations quoted by Ruding² as being "amonges other thinges caused by lack of bryngyng of bolion into his myntes, which, as is conceived, is by cause that they that should brynge bolion may have more for theire bolion in other princes' myntes than in his".

Certainly the Mint accounts show that the quantities of gold bullion coming to the Mint had fallen to small proportions, but silver receipts were on a substantial scale, a fact which is confirmed by the relative plentifulness of heavy groats to-day. It was really a case of the mal-adjustment of the relative values of the two metals, and the depreciation of the silver cannot have been dictated so much by the shortage of bullion as by financial necessity arising out of the king's costly wars.

In the event a reduction of 20 per cent. was made in the silver and of nearly 28 per cent. in the gold. The reform was carried out in two stages. The first, under the indenture of 1464, reduced the weight of the penny from 15 to 12 grains but reformed, or rather attempted to reform, the gold by leaving the weight of the noble unchanged at 108 grains but increasing its value to 8s. 4d. The Mint accounts covering the two stages are combined in one figure, so one cannot draw conclusions from them as to the results achieved by each. The large number of silver coins existing suggests, however, that the desired result was obtained with this metal, and this assumption is confirmed

¹ Symonds, in *Nim. Chron.*, 1926, p. 105, says: "we may assume that York was closed in September 1471, the latest entry on the roll concerning that city."

² Vol. i, pp. 282/3, from Close Rolls 4 Edw. IV.

by the fact that no change was made in the silver by the indenture of 1465.

To the gold struck under the 1464 indenture can probably be assigned a solitary noble, with I.M. Rose, now in the British Museum, for the lettering resembles that of some of the silver coins struck under the indenture of 1464. The coin, therefore, though listed with the heavy nobles it resembles, belongs actually to the light issue. The reason for the rarity of these nobles is that this indenture, although it was intended to reform the gold coinage, yet in reality failed to do so. In 1464 the noble had no doubt long been worth more than 8s. 4d., but only now was the fact officially recognized. But its assessment at that figure, from which, it should be mentioned, 12 per cent. was to be deducted for mintage and seigniorage, was an underestimate of its value and the gold holder could still obtain a higher price abroad. That this was so is proved by the fact that further measures were found necessary in the following year. Under the indenture of 1465 the gold was revalued and new coins were ordered, the ryal of 10s. to weigh 120 grains and the angel of 6s. 8d. to weigh 80 grains, a reduction of 29.7 per cent. The king was now able to offer, after deducting all charges, as much as 8s. 6½d. net for each old noble.¹

This estimate achieved the desired result, and the account for the period 1 September 1464 to Michaelmas 1466 shows a total of no less than 12,389 pounds of gold, most of which may no doubt be attributed to the period after the 1465 indenture.

THE DATING OF THE COINS

The following dates will help in the placing of the various issues of Edward IV:

1461	4 Mar.	Edward's accession. Canterbury: Thomas Bouchier Archbishop. York: William Booth Archbishop. Durham: Lawrence Booth Bishop.
	23 May.	Indenture for coinage, particulars not known. Referred to in a foreign roll. ²
1462	28 Dec.	Durham: Bishop L. Booth's temporalities seized by the Crown.
1463	10 July.	Canterbury: grant of dies for the half-groat, penny, and halfpenny to Archbishop Bouchier. ³
1464	17 Apr.	Durham: Bishop L. Booth's temporalities restored to him.
	13 Aug.	Indenture increasing the value of the noble from 6s. 8d. to 8s. 4d., and reducing the weight of the groat from 60 to 48 grains.
	12 Sept.	York: death of Archbishop William Booth.
	16 Sept.	York: temporalities placed in the hands of the King's Receiver.
1465	6 Mar.	Indenture ordering the ryal of 10s. and its fractions, the angel of 6s. 8d. and its half in place of the noble of 8s. 4d. Proportionate weight slightly reduced; silver unaltered. ⁴
	17 June.	York: temporalities granted to Archbishop George Neville.
	6 July.	Commissions to open mints at Bristol, Norwich, and Coventry.
	16 Sept.	Probable closure of Norwich and Coventry mints. ⁵

¹ Feaveryear, *The Pound Sterling*, Oxford, 1932, p. 38.

² *Num. Chron.*, 1926, p. 99.

³ *Brit. Num. Journ.* xxi. 79-80.

⁴ K. R. Mem. Roll, 6 Edw. IV, Mich. Record., m. 45.

⁵ *Num. Chron.*, 1926, p. 111.

- 1469 2 Mar. New indenture with Hastings: weight and standard unaltered, but seigniorage reduced.¹
- 1470 3 Oct. Restoration of Henry VI.
- 1471 11 Apr. Restoration of Edward IV.
- 19 Apr. York: Archbishop George Neville pardoned by Edward IV.
- 4 June. York: Archbishop George Neville released from the Tower.
- 1472 23 Feb. New indenture with Hastings: weight and standard unaltered, but seigniorage further reduced.²
- 25 Apr. York: Archbishop George Neville arrested for corresponding with the exiled Earl of Oxford. Taken to France and there imprisoned. Revenue of see sequestrated.
- 1473 21 June. Durham: licence to Lawrence Booth to make his own dies and to coin halfpence.
- 1475 Summer. York: Archbishop Neville released. He recovered his temporalities before his death.
- 1476 8 June. York: death of Archbishop Neville.
- 28 June. York: temporalities placed in the hands of the King's Receiver.
- York: Bishop Lawrence Booth translated from Durham.
- Sept.-Oct. Durham: Bishop William Dudley receives temporalities.
- 1 Oct. York: temporalities granted to Archbishop Lawrence Booth.³
- 1477 3 Feb. New indenture with Hastings, similar to that of 1472.⁴
- 1480 19 May. York: death of Archbishop Lawrence Booth.
- 3 Oct. York: Thomas Rotherham Archbishop, translated from Lincoln.⁵
- 1483 12 Feb. Indenture with Bartholomew Reed: terms similar to those of 1472.⁶
- 9 Apr. Death of Edward IV.
- Canterbury: Thomas Bouchier Archbishop.
- York: Thomas Rotherham Archbishop.
- Durham: William Dudley Bishop.

From these dates and from a study of the coins we can build up a fairly accurate chronology for the coinage of Edward IV. We have divided this into twenty-two types, the first reign comprising types I-XI and the second reign types XII-XXII.⁷

The heavy issues (types I-IV) must have been started (type I) almost immediately after his accession, probably under the indenture of 23 May 1461. When the change to types II, III, and IV (all with I.M. Rose) was made is not known, nor do the Durham coins help us as they might be expected to do, because the dies during this period were made locally and do not correspond with the London issues. The Archbishop of Canterbury, who received his grant in 1463, does not appear to have availed himself of it until the light coinage was ordered, so that here again no help is given.

Type V (I.M. Rose) was first issued under the indenture of 13 August 1464 and was practically superseded by the time the provincial mints opened on 6 July 1465, for the earliest provincial coins show that the period of the I.M. Sun was just beginning. The Rose-marked coins therefore of the light issue lasted about one year.

The years 1466-8 are a blank period as regards documentary evidence. The indenture of 2 March 1469 was probably responsible for

¹ *Pat. Rolls, Edw. IV*, ii, p. 138.

³ *Num. Chron.*, 1925, p. 373.

⁵ *Num. Chron.*, 1925, p. 373.

² *Ibid.*, p. 313.

⁴ *Pat. Rolls, Edw. IV*.

⁶ *Pat. Rolls, Edw. IV*.

⁷ For a comparison with Brooke's classification in his *English Coins* see the chronological summary below, p. 14.

type X (Long Cross Fitchy/Sun); so that type XI (Long Cross Fitchy both sides) would therefore have been struck just before Henry's restoration in 1470, which is compatible with its rarity. There remain therefore for the period from July 1465 to March 1469 types VI (Sun), VII (Crown), VIII (Crown/Sun), and IX (Crown/Rose). The first three types are prolific and cannot have lasted much less than a year each. The last, type IX, is rare and may have been introduced shortly before the new indenture of 1469.

This gives a reasonable chronology for the first reign.

In the second reign the mints of Durham and York provide some evidence in dating the issues. The Short Cross Fitchy (type XII) was continued from the restoration of Henry VI. Neville coins are found with this mark and these can be dated to the period between June 1471 and April 1472. The fact that a Durham penny of London work of Bishop Lawrence Booth exists with I.M. Annulet-with-pellet must mean that this issue was current before 21 June 1473 when Bishop Booth was given licence to make his own dies. Since very few specimens of this coin exist we may fairly conclude that this issue had not been in force long before that date. Types XIII (Large Annulet/Trefoil) and XIV (Small Annulet) should, therefore, probably fit in between the latter part of 1471 and the middle of 1473. Type XIII is relatively scarce, whereas type XIV is very plentiful. It is therefore likely that type XIV was introduced under the indenture of February 1472 and that type XIII was issued in the preceding months. This suggestion is confirmed by the fact that the Small Annulet is the initial mark of the last groats of the Bristol mint which closed in July 1472.

The York pennies from this time on have frequently the I.M. Rose regardless of what initial mark was in force at London, and the same applies to most of the Canterbury half-groats. These coins, therefore, are of less use in dating the other coins than might have been expected.

The *Sede Vacante* coins of York of 1476 have I.M. Rose, as have the majority of those of Lawrence Booth (1476-80). The latest of his, however, have I.M. Cinquefoil and show that this mark (type XXI) was in force in London at the date of his death, 19 May 1480.

We have therefore type XV (Annulet-with-pellet) in issue in June 1473 (and probably just begun at that date) and type XXI (Cinquefoil) in issue in May 1480 and similarly probably just begun. It seems likely that the several varieties of the pierced cross and single pellet which began with type XVIII, and which introduced a new fount, were first issued under the indenture of 3 February 1477. If this is the case, types XV, XVI, and XVII (Annulet-with-pellet, Cross and 4 pellets, Pierced Cross) must have been struck between the middle of 1473 and February 1477.

A new indenture was made on 12 February 1483 and the coins thereby authorized are probably those marked with I.M. Sun-and-Rose dimidiated (type XXII).¹ Their rarity is compatible with their

¹ See *Brit. Num. Journ.* xxii, 213-24.

representing the coinage between February and April in this year. If this is the case, then the Cinquefoil was current from early in 1480 to February 1483.

We get therefore the following approximate chronology:

1461-4	Types I-IV (Heavy coinage). ¹
Aug. 1464-July 1465	Type V (Rose, Brooke, I, II).
July 1465-6	" VI (Sun, Brooke, III).
1466-7	" VII (Crown, Brooke, IV).
1467-8	" VIII (Crown/Sun, Brooke, V).
1469 (to March)	" IX (Crown/Rose, Brooke V).
2 Mar. 1469-70	" X (Long Cross Fitchy/Sun, Brooke, VI).
Mid-1470-3 Oct. 1470	" XI (L.C.F. both sides, Brooke, VI).
3 Oct. 1470-11 Apr. 1471	(Restoration of Henry VI).
April 1471-Autumn 1471	Type XII (Short Cross Fitchy, Brooke, VII).
Autumn 1471-23 Feb. 1472	" XIII (Large Annulet/Trefoil, Brooke, 1).
23 Feb. 1472-Mid-1473	" XIV (Small Annulet, Brooke, 1).
Mid-1473-3 Feb. 1477	Types XV, XVI, and XVII (Annulet-with-pellet, Cross and 4 pellets, Pierced Cross No. 1, Brooke, 2, 3, 4).
3 Feb. 1477-Early 1480	Types XVIII, XIX, and XX (Cross and pellet, Pierced Cross No. 2, Pierced Cross with central pellet, Brooke, 5, 4, 5).
Early 1480-12 Feb. 1483	Type XXI (Cinquefoil, Brooke, 6).
12 Feb. 1483-Apr. 1483	" XXII (Sun-and-Rose, Brooke, Edward V).

THE MINTS

Among the noteworthy points of the coinage of Edward IV is the revival of certain royal provincial mints, and the establishment of a new mint at Coventry. In the case of Coventry and Norwich the activity was short-lived, but the mints at Bristol and York yielded substantial amounts over a number of years, and Canterbury produced from the king's or the archbishop's mint the bulk of the half-groats in circulation. Similarly the bulk of the pennies came from the prolific mints of the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Durham.

The mint of London was active throughout the reign as can be seen from the accounts, but no coinage appears to have been struck at Calais. Walters's conjectures to the contrary were based primarily on the mention of the town in indentures which repeated older ones verbatim. For instance, that of March 1465 cites William Lord Hastings as "Maister and Werker of (the king's) moneys of gold and sylver and Wardeyn of all man(ner) his eschaunge and oute chaunge within his Towre of London his Reaume of England and his Towne of Caleys". This was the usual formula, and is the only mention made of Calais in the indenture, which nowhere orders money to be struck there. In this connexion it has already been pointed out² that the petition to Parliament of 1454³ (which was rejected) that the mint at Calais "was like to stand void and desolate and be destroyed" is probably to be interpreted that the mint was then inactive and was likely to remain so. The continued mention of Calais in documents of this nature was probably no more than a piece of political casuistry:

¹ We have transposed Brooke's types III and IV.

² *Brit. Num. Journ.* xxiii. 410.

³ *Rolls Parlt.* v. 276.

its omission might have established an awkward precedent. In its extreme form this attitude may be compared to the official insistence, for more than four hundred years, on the king of England's claim to the French throne.

London

Of the heavy coinage all denominations of silver from the groat to the farthing are known. There are also two gold nobles. Coins struck under the indenture of 1464 are represented in gold by the Brooke memorial coin only.

With the coinage of 1465 the ryal of 10s. first makes its appearance with its half and quarter. At the same time the angel is ordered, though it does not appear to have been struck in any quantity until Henry VI's restoration. Thereafter it entirely superseded the ryal, and the angel and its half became the only gold coins of the realm until the introduction of the sovereign by Henry VII. Of the light silver the farthing is the only piece missing. Although it was specifically ordered by the indenture of 1465, and the account of the pyx trial already referred to shows that the farthing was not only ordered but actually struck, no authenticated specimen is known to have survived in spite of various attempts to identify one. This is the more curious since halfpence though scarce are for the most part not unduly rare.

Bristol

The opening of the mints of Bristol, Coventry, and Norwich can be definitely established from the orders dated 6 July 1465 in the Patent Rolls. In the case of Bristol, William Melsounby and Thomas Cartlage were ordered to take coiners, workmen, and labourers for the works of the mints of gold and silver at Bristol. The mint continued to operate during the remainder of Edward IV's first reign, during Henry VI's restoration, and until 23 July 1472 when the account ceases, and the absence of further coins suggests that the mint was then closed. Of the first reign the ryal and half-ryal are found in gold, the groat, half-groat, penny, and halfpenny in silver. As in previous reigns with the quarter-noble, the attribution of quarter-ryals to the provincial mints cannot be definitely established. Of the second reign are found the angel, groat, half-groat, and penny.

With the exception of the ryal and the groat, which are fairly plentiful, the coins of Bristol are very rare.

Coventry

The opening of the royal mint of Coventry has been referred to above. In this case John Worlege and Thomas Melson were given the instructions. The fact that in a privy seal letter dated 16 September 1465 the seigniorage which had previously been charged at London, York, Coventry, Norwich, and Bristol was altered, and the new charge ordered at London, York, and Bristol, leads Symonds to infer that

Coventry and Norwich had by that time been closed.¹ This contention is borne out by the coins, and their scarcity is compatible with the mint having had a life of only three or four months.

Of Coventry there are ryals and half-ryals, both rare, the latter especially so. In silver there are groats and a half-groat which is so far unique. What are perhaps the earliest groats are from locally made dies. These, however, like similar Norwich coins, may be mere forgeries though they evidently passed current. They usually lack the distinctive mint letter on the breast. Apparently dies were also prepared in London and not sent, as there exist scarce groats with obv. I.M. Rose and a G on the breast over which is struck a fleur. The reverse of these coins bears I.M. Sun and the mint-name of London.

Norwich

The Norwich order to open the mint is addressed to John Sweder and Thomas Warner. As at Coventry, the mint was only open from July to September 1465, and in the same way the earliest groats are from locally made dies. The ryal and half-ryal are found, both very rare, and in silver, the groat and half-groat; of the latter two specimens only are known to us.

York

The reopening of the royal mint at York, inactive since the beginning of Henry VI's reign, may also be dated with a fair degree of probability to July 1465 as the seigniorage to be charged there is specified (see under Coventry, above). The initial mark Rose (of 1464-5), however, is never found.

In the later part of the reign written evidence is of more direct value, since it includes the mint accounts covering the first part of Edward's second reign. The accounts at York cease in September 1471, just as those of Bristol do in July 1472. These may be accepted confidently as the closing dates, for the slightly longer existence of the Bristol mint is accurately reflected by surviving coins. We have of Edward's second reign several varieties of groat from Bristol, but only one from York.

Of the first reign ryals and half-ryals are known, and quarter-ryals with the I.M. Lis have also been doubtfully assigned to York: in silver there are groats, half-groats, and halfpence, the pence being struck at the archbishop's mint. In the second reign the accounts show gold to have been struck, but none is yet known to have survived. In the silver, groats and half-groats were coined, the latter having been attributed by Brooke in *English Coins* to the first reign.

Canterbury

The position of the Canterbury mint has been clearly set out by Dr. Brooke in his paper on "The Mints of Canterbury and York in the reigns of Edward IV and Henry VII",² to which reference should be made.

¹ *Num. Chron.*, 1926, 111.

² *Brit. Num. Journ.* xxi, 73.

Brooke calls attention to the charter granted by Edward IV to Thomas Bouchier dated 10 July 1463, which confirms the archbishop's ancient right to three dies and three moneyers and now extended it to include the coinage of half-groats and halfpence besides the original pence. He adds: "Since the time of Plegmund archbishop during the reign of Alfred and Edward the Elder, there had been no evidence on the coins themselves of the coinage rights of the Archbishops of Canterbury. From documentary evidence we are aware that the rights existed."

For more than 100 years, since the Florin-type coinage of Edward III between 1344 and 1351, the mint of Canterbury had been inactive, but soon after the granting of the new charter it leapt into prominence, and during the reigns of Edward IV and Henry VII, and to a lesser degree of Henry VIII, produced the bulk of the coinage of half-groats in the country.

No heavy coins of Canterbury are known—Walters's view to the contrary, based on a slight overweight in one or two coins which in other respects show every sign of being of a later date, is not convincing—and it is possible that the archbishop did not avail himself of his privilege to strike until the weight of the penny was reduced from 15 grains to 12 some fourteen months later.

His coins are distinguished from those of the royal moneyers by one or more of the following marks:

1. The I.M. Pall, which must not be confused with the Long Cross Fitchy which it somewhat resembles when not fully shown.
2. Bouchier's knot on the king's breast.
3. A small spur in one quarter of the reverse projecting from the inner circle, which Brooke says¹ is found on all Bouchier's coins. While it is true to say that it is generally so found, a number of coins exist, as we shall see, on which it is missing.

It is noteworthy that the mint opened in the first instance for the archbishop alone. This was contrary to the previous practice whereby the archbishop merely shared in the profits of a common coinage emanating jointly from the royal moneyers and his own. But the archbishop's privilege did not last long. It seems possible that the king was something of a trimmer; that so long as it was worth his while to cultivate the support of the powerful archbishop, who was his own second cousin and equally the great-grandson of Edward III, he was glad to put such a benefit in his way, but when he felt his own position secure he did not hesitate to seize the lucrative office for himself. The process seems to have been a gradual one; at first the archbishop seems to have been required to remove his emblems from the coins, for they are found still bearing his initial mark of the Pall, and either the knot or the spur but not both marks; indeed one coin, a penny, shows neither knot nor spur. These are the last coins struck by Bouchier, and the next pieces were struck by the king himself

¹ He also states that some have an extra pellet in the reverse: we have not met such coins.

with the initial mark of the period, Crown, and differ only in the mint-name from the parallel London coins.

Of the royal mint all three denominations are found in both reigns. The pence and halfpence are of considerable rarity.

The dates of the opening and closing of the royal mint at Canterbury have been deduced by Henry Symonds (*Num. Chron.*, 1926, pp. 111-12) as not earlier than September 1465 and not later than October 1468. This dating is based on the omission of reference to the royal mint there in two letters of privy seal of those dates. The coins, however, point to a slightly later closing. All those of the archbishop can be attributed to types V, VI, and perhaps VII, and those of the king to types VII-IX, type VII thus overlapping and forming a very logical link between the two.

There is no evidence of any coinage at Canterbury in the last year of Edward's first reign, nor are there any coins of that mint of Henry VI during his restoration.

Over the classification of the coins of the second reign we find ourselves at variance with Brooke, who regards those half-groats which have I.M. Long Cross Fitchy on the obverse and Cinquefoil on the reverse as mules, consisting of old dies (of type X) brought into service once more and type XXI. Brooke takes the view in consequence that half-groats were not struck at Canterbury between these periods.¹

It is quite clear that the mint was inactive during the earlier years of the second reign, but to assume that it only reopened with the Cinquefoil coinage involves compressing the very considerable number of half-groats with I.M. Rose and α on the breast into a very short space of time. We feel sure, moreover, that Brooke would have changed his views if he had observed that the lettering of the Long Cross Fitchy dies is of the new fount which was first used during the issue of type XVIII. The Long Cross Fitchy here, therefore, is merely an old mark revived.

It is difficult to say for certain which of the two types is the earlier, the Rose or the Long Cross Fitchy/Cinquefoil, but it may be assumed that the latter combination corresponds to the Cinquefoil at London which, apart from the very small issue of coins with Sun and Rose dimidiated, brought the reign to a close. We have therefore regarded the Rose-marked coins as the earlier.

PRIVY MARKS

The instructions for placing privy marks on the coins for the purpose of identifying them at the pyx trials continue to appear in the indentures in much the same form as heretofore, and it is clear that the system was in a large measure enforced, especially on the larger coins, judging from the numerous marks that are found. It is, however, likely that at this period trials were not carried out regularly, but this would not relieve the master of the liability to identify his coins whenever trials took place.

¹ *English Coins*, p. 159.

In the great number of marks which appear on the coins it is of course impossible for us to single out precisely the marks of a particular period, and it would be profitless to enumerate a list of them. Particular instances are noted when the coins are discussed in detail. We may, however, say something of the general nature of the privy marks of the reign.

In one respect the coins of Edward IV mark an important stage in the history of privy-marking. About the year 1462 a rose appeared on the king's money as the initial mark to the legends. It was a notable event. For seven hundred years, apart from a few desultory experiments, this mark had taken the form of some form of cross. We need not suppose the idea to have been necessarily Edward's own; it probably originated in the mind of one of his advisers, perhaps the Earl of Warwick, or Edmund Shaw, his chief engraver, a noted London goldsmith. But the breach with tradition was, if not a sign of the times, at least not inconsistent with the character of the confident and impulsive young king. Furthermore, Edward's action not only destroyed a tradition, it also founded one; for from now on, until the disappearance of the hammered coinage two hundred years later, the initial mark was denoted by some periodically altered and usually heraldic symbol. It is almost unnecessary to add that the new device marks also an important stage in the history of English numismatics. This changing symbol, in which of course the cross is often included, has formed the basis of the classification of the coins of all subsequent rulers who issued hammered money.

In Edward's case these symbols are to be regarded as the primary distinguishing marks; but there are others: the use of a pellet in conjunction with the initial mark;¹ the fleuring of the tressure, particularly on the king's breast and above the crown; the placing of certain stops, or on later coins the use of peculiar or broken letters—these features must also be regarded as part of the privy-marking system, though not necessarily of the pyx system.

The distinction between the two should be emphasized. Pux marks are marks placed on the coins for the express purpose of identifying the pieces of a particular period when the trials of the pyx were undertaken. But the privy marks which occur provide a far greater number of varieties than is required to fill the necessary space of time, and it must be assumed that other marks were placed on the coins in connexion with the internal organization of the mint, probably to identify a particular moneyer or group of moneyers.

It is not always easy to differentiate between the two types of mark; generally speaking, where a mark changes at regular intervals, as in the case of the initial mark, it can be regarded as a pyx mark; where, in a sequence, a mark is found on one group of coins and is omitted on another of apparently contemporary issue, as for example in the case of the "pot-hook" *Ɔ* and *∇*, or the broken *R* (*R*7) to which reference

¹ e.g. in types XV, XVI, XVIII, XX, XXI, and XXII.

is made elsewhere, it may be regarded as being connected with the internal economy of the mint.

Again, as Dr. Brooke has pointed out, pyx marks tend in appearance to become multiplied through being incorporated as part of the design of a succeeding issue, when they are in fact not operative. Thus, certain marks which may have constituted pyx marks originally, and which, to modern eyes, still play a notable part in identification, were probably, except for a short period when they were first introduced, nothing more than a part of the design. Such are, in the heavy coinage, the marks inherited from Henry VI; the lis on the neck, and the extra pellets in the reverse. The mascle in the legend is rarer and may indeed suggest a privy if not a pyx-trial purpose. Similarly, at first, such novelties as the quatrefoils by the bust and the eye in the reverse legend may have had a periodic significance; later they were probably automatically included in the design and were without any special import, and by the time of the light coinage the only significance to be attached to the quatrefoils was on the occasion of their change to trefoils or their omission altogether.

Another feature which plays an important part in the modern classification of the coins is the lettering. It probably, with few exceptions, played little part in distinguishing the coins at the time when they were made.

A word must be said about the stops. A change from saltires to trefoils or pellets or vice versa such as took place from time to time could at first form a privy mark, but would then become a permanent feature. The introduction of additional stops, such as a pellet, or fleur-de-lis, and more especially in the second reign, a rose or a sun, could by frequent variation form a more effective indication of periodic change. On the larger gold coins of the first reign a different practice was adopted. Here the stops, except for a rare fleur-de-lis, a rose, a quatrefoil, or a saltire, were always trefoils, and different periods were apparently denoted by varying the position of the stops among the words, particularly the last two words, of the legends.

The provincial mints to a large extent follow London, but the rose in particular as an initial mark, doubtless as a ready compliment to the king, is liable to turn up at any time, especially on coins of the second reign. The coins of Bristol and Canterbury supply notable instances. The fleur-de-lis, the mark of the York royal mint, though at first found side by side with the London marks during the Sun and Crown periods, finally and exclusively superseded them.

The ecclesiastical mints at Durham and York sometimes conformed to the contemporary London initial marks, but for long periods together would employ the rose alone for this purpose. For this reason, in spite of the help afforded by the bishops' initials, the classification of such coins is notoriously difficult. The situation is made more complicated by the occasional use of local dies which correspond in no way with those from London.

LETTERING, FLEURING, AND STOPS

Lettering

Although it appears that lettering on Edward's coinage was used only to a minor extent, if at all, for providing pyx marks, the various changes which took place are of the greatest value in providing a guide to the proper arrangement of the series.

Certain letters appear to have been subject to more marked changes than others, and this is notably the case with **W** and **R** in the heavy coinage and with **P**, **R**, and **I** in the light. It should be borne in mind, however, that the peculiarities to which attention is now drawn apply to the groats only among the silver coins and to the ryal and usually the half-ryal in the gold. The rare angels of the first reign show a curious medley of letters; some clearly belong to the contemporary groat fount, but others are smaller and seem to have been taken from the fount used for the half-groats.

This smaller fount deserves, nevertheless, some special mention. In both reigns of Edward smaller letters are almost always found on silver coins less than the groat, the only exceptions known to us being a few provincial and ecclesiastical coins. In the first reign also the small fount is used on quarter-ryals and on some half-ryals; in the second reign it is found on all gold coins. In all these pieces, therefore, the peculiarities to be discussed need not be sought. Attention will seldom be needed to the smaller fount and only two letters from it call for illustration. Changes in the smaller fount correspond generally with major changes in the larger, groat fount, but on the whole the small founts are too ill designed to provide easily recognized forms.

Heavy Coinage. A very remarkable feature of this coinage is the large number of different letter-punches employed. On all four types of groats we find the puncheons frequently renewed, and only rarely is a letter found that is common to more than one type. The inference is that there was a very large coinage of these groats, reminding us how much Edward had to gain by thus broadcasting the fact of his accession. That more of them have not survived is presumably due to the melting down of so many in the recoinage of 1464.

On the folding page at the end of this paper will be found drawings of three letters of the heavy coinage, which we have called **P1**, **A1** and **A2**, and **N1** and **N2**. The letter **P1** without serifs at the foot is distinctive of type II and is found nowhere else. **N2** superseded **N1** during the issue of type III and remained on type IV: it is therefore also found on light groats from heavy dies, but on no later ones.

The letters **A1** and **A2** are more significant. They are both found on coins of type I, not only on those groats with I.M. Cross Fleury, but also on those with I.M. Plain Cross. **A1** is presumably the earlier since it is found on Henry VI's last groats. It is also found on the two heavy nobles. The inference is therefore that the two marks, Cross Fleury and Plain Cross, were employed concurrently.

Light Coinage. The lettering on the light groats during the two reigns may be described as emanating from three different founts:

1. Small letters found on the earliest new dies of type V (Rose), exemplified by P2.
2. Letters with curved uprights, lasting from late coins of type V uninterrupted until type XVIII (Cross and pellet in lower quarter) in the second reign, exemplified by P3 and R1-R5.
3. The new fount introduced during type XVIII, and outlasting the reign of Edward, exemplified by R6, and, in the half-groats and gold, by A6.

The early experimental groats of type V again afford evidence by their variety of the hurried improvisation of a very busy period. We show the smaller P of this series—P2—which is important, since it links with these early groats the unique Brooke Memorial noble with I.M. Rose and a quatrefoil by the shield. Other letters of the fount also correspond and help to prove the date of this noble; it must have been struck after the indenture of 1464 but before that of 1465.

The next letter, P3, with an elongated serif at the foot, is perhaps the most widely used of all criteria to identify coins of Edward IV. It marks the inauguration of a new fount of somewhat bold and rugged letters with curved uprights, which was to be a distinctive feature of the coinage for the next ten years. Obviously the work of one man, the fount was employed with rare exceptions on all the remaining groats and most of the gold coins of Edward's first reign, on all the groats and on a few obverse dies of the angels of Henry VI, and was not fundamentally changed until half-way through Edward's second reign, during the issue of type XVIII. It is worth noting that whenever the puncheon of the P with a long serif needed replacement the graver supplied an almost exact replica of it. The Flemish imitators were less successful. Moreover, it appears quite abnormally on early half-groats at all mints when the other letters show the normal half-groat fount. It was perhaps therefore a privy mark.

The other letters of this fount to which the drawings call attention are the various letters R. These differed quite extensively and their difference plays an important part in arranging coins of all the types of the first reign in their proper order. We give five examples, R1 to R5. R1 is found on groats of type Vd with I.M. Rose on both sides and an extra pellet in one quarter. No other R is found on true groats of this type. When, however, we find the Rose on one side and the Sun on the other, whether in gold or silver, then R2 and R3 come into the picture. R2 is recognized by the small fracture in the tail, and R3 by the tail turning no longer inwards but outwards. But R1 had not been discarded, and we find it in use during the early Sun-marked era, for instance on London groats and on the Sun-marked reverse as well as the obverse (without I.M.) of a Coventry ryal. On other such reverses R2 and R3 are found. The same promiscuous use of all three irons is found on Norwich and Coventry groats, and on the earliest at Bristol and York; on the Norwich ryals and the London ryals with

I.M. Rose. Most of the London ryals with I.M. Sun, however, show R₃ only, as do the later corresponding groats. Broadly speaking, then, R₁ appears on the Rose-marked groats of Vd, and R₃ on the later Sun-marked coins. In the border-line period any one of the three may be found. It is important to note that none of them is precluded from appearing on a die with either Rose or Sun. It will be noted that the R's on the early gold of London show the same variation as in the provinces, so that probably ryals were not minted much earlier at London than July 1465, when the provincial mints were opened. This makes it clear that before that time there had been a large coinage of silver, consisting not only of groats showing R₁, but of their several predecessors in types Va, b, and c. This confirms the view expressed elsewhere that silver of the light coinage was struck long before March 1465.

R₄ was evidently introduced just after the inauguration of type VII (Crown): it should not be confused with either R₁ or R₅, both of which, in some stages of wear, it resembles. R₄ is found on nearly all groats of type VII (a few reverses of Sun/Crown mules showing R₂), on all of type VIII save a few late York groats which show R₅, and on obverses of type IX. R₄ thus enables reverses of type VIII to be distinguished from those of type VI, both of which have I.M. Sun. R₄ is found on all ryals of VII and VIII save the unusual London coin with I.M. Sun over Crown. It also appears on a York ryal with I.M.s Sun and Lis side by side.

R₅, the often-quoted B-like letter, is first found on late York groats with I.M. Lis and quatrefoils by the bust. These coins, which are of type VIII, were discovered too late to include R₅ in that class on the page of drawings which had already gone to press. The letter next occurs on the Rose-marked reverses of type IX (but not on their Crown-marked obverses). The letter thus appears in the first reign:

1. At London on Crown/Rose groats and Long Cross Fitchy groats and ryals.
2. At Bristol on the reverse only of a late ryal with I.M. Sun, and on Sun-marked groats which have *small trefoils* by the bust.
3. At York on a few Lis-marked groats with *quatrefoils* by the bust, and on Lis/Sun or Lis-marked groats with *small trefoils* by the bust (a late York ryal with I.M. Sun on both sides exists; this may show R₅ also).
4. Somewhat irregularly, just before and after the restoration of Henry VI, on the reverse of some ecclesiastical pence.

R₅ appears on all subsequent groats until the issue of type XVIII. It is therefore found on all groats of Henry VI's restoration. Mr. Allen¹ has already treated this matter at some length, showing that the letter is found on only two obverse and no reverse dies of Henry VI's angels. Examination reveals the interesting fact that on all his other angel dies, and indeed on all subsequent angels until the reign of Henry VII,

¹ See *Num. Chron.*, 1937, pp. 28 ff.

the fount of the half-groats was used. That is the reason why no barred A's are found on the angels of Edward V and Richard III.

Some groats of type X (Long Cross Fitchy/Sun, a groat of type IX (Crown/Rose), and even one of type VIII show an experiment of the same nature: together with a ryal of type X at the British Museum they employ the small fount of the half-groats, but on the obverse only (the groat of type IX shows it on both sides). We may perhaps here see some privy significance, but the permanent change made on the angels was probably due to aesthetic considerations.

The next two letters of this fount which are illustrated are the two letters I of type X. Again it was Mr. Allen who first pointed out this difference, from which he was enabled to show that the Short Cross Fitchy, which has the later form of I exclusively (I₂), must have been struck only after Edward's return to the throne, as both forms are found on Henry's restoration coins, and both appear on groats of type X.

The use of the early I in particular, on Henry VI's coins, has had important results. It was shown by Walters that at Bristol,¹ and by Mr. Lawrence and Mr. Allen that at London² also, reverse dies of Henry VI's restoration groats continued to be used on Edward's return. To these two cities we can now add York. York groats are known of each king showing the same reverse die. It was through the appearance of the early I—I₁—on the reverse (but not obverse) of a York groat of Edward's second reign that this die identity was established. True reverse dies of Edward's would of course show I₂, as do the obverse dies; any that show I₁ are in reality mules with a reverse of Henry VI.

The next important change for us was a new letter A for the coins with I.M. Small Annulet: we have called this A₄, and the letter which it replaced A₃. A₃ with its characteristic slightly bowed legs and a small nick at the left foot had appeared on some groats of type X (Long Cross Fitchy/Sun); it was used throughout Henry VI's restoration, and supplied the letter after Edward's return on coins with I.M.s Short Cross Fitchy, Large Annulet, Trefoil, and on a few with Small Annulet (the drawings should therefore include type XIV for A₃). A₄ is found on most London groats with I.M. Small Annulet, and its importance lies in the assistance it affords in classifying the different post-restoration Bristol groats. Most Rose-marked groats of Bristol show A₃, a few show A₄; those with Sun, or Small Annulet, or no reverse initial mark show A₄ only. The sequence thus becomes clear. York groats of the second reign all show A₃. With the Small Annulet type (XIV) also, a broken O is found (see drawing) which was not replaced until the new fount appeared in type XVIII.

A further innovation was introduced with type XVI (Cross and 4 pellets), when a chevron-barred A appears in the words *ÆROU* and

¹ *Num. Chron.*, 1914, Pl. xxiii, 6 and 7. Closer examination does not bear out Walters's contention that these coins are from the same reverse die. We have, however, established identity on two other coins.

² *Ibid.*, 1937, Pl. v, 28.

QIVITAS. In this position it is found consistently for the rest of the reign, but a few coins with I.M. Cinquefoil (type XXI) have all A's chevron-barred. On groats of type XXII (Sun and Rose dimidiated) the chevron-barred A seems to obey the following pattern:

Obverse: (a) No pellet under bust, all A's barred.

(b) Pellet under bust, all A's unbarred.

The dozen or so specimens we have been able to examine all come within these two categories except one or two, e.g. the coin illustrated in Montagu's Sale, ii. 634, which drops the pellet and gives category

(c) No pellet, all A's unbarred:

Reverse: barred A in **QIVITAS**,

but a coin at the British Museum (*Brit. Num. Journ.* xxii. 213, Pl. no. 7) is an exception to this rule. The anomaly is curious and perhaps accidental since both preceding and succeeding issues have barred A in this position.

During the issue of type XVIII (Cross and pellet in one angle) a new fount of high artistic merit was introduced: the most pronounced feature is the carefully drawn straight uprights. The fount provides a sure means of distinguishing coins of type XVII (Pierced Cross, first variety) from those of type XIX (Pierced Cross, second variety), and this is particularly of value—for a corresponding change was made in the small fount also—in the case of the gold, as the fleurs, which changed at the same time, are not found on the angels. The reading **DEI** which is found on coins of types XV (Annulet-with-Pellet) to XVII is another useful, if not infallible, guide. After this the reading reverts to **DI**.

We have illustrated in the drawings at the end the letter R of this fount (R6), and in this connexion a rather unusual feature is to be observed. For a short time, on some groats of type XVIII*b* the old B-like R, R5, alone among the old letters, was retained. The survival is curious. It may not be due to mere economy that this letter which modern eyes have always been so quick to notice was for a time retained. It produces a marked contrast with the other letters, and, for those who are looking for it, strike the eye at once. Its peculiar, highly stylized form may have constituted a privy mark of some kind.

With the new fount of type XVIII special features in the lettering begin to appear again. Besides the chevron-barred A referred to, there will often be found, as additional variants to the ordinary letters, a curious V and A, having elaborate hook-like serifs: they are called in the drawings "Pot-hook letters". These never appear in the inner legend, where of course both letters are found, and they are seldom if ever found consistently even on the same side of the coin. They are first noticed soon after the appearance of the new fount in type XVIII, on a mule with an obverse of type XVII. They go on spasmodically to type XXI, where the V is found on the groats with chevron-barred A throughout, and one obverse die shows all A's of this type excepting the barred A in **ANGL**.

A last innovation on some coins of type XXI is a broken form of the letter R (R7), with a clean diagonal cut at the foot.

We have previously said that simultaneously with the new fount for the groats of type XVIII a similar fount of smaller letters was introduced for the other silver and for the gold coins. This is important in several respects. In the case of the gold it provides a means of distinguishing angels with I.M. Pierced Cross, first variety (type XVII), which show, for instance, A5, from those with I.M. Pierced Cross, second variety (type XIX), which show A6. Apart from this difference these two varieties of angel are substantially identical, for the subsidiary marks are absent which help identify the corresponding silver coins, e.g. the pellets beside the bust and in the reverse of groats of type XIX. As regards the silver the fact that the new lettering is found on all Canterbury coins of the second reign shows that they cannot be earlier than type XVIII*b* with which this lettering began. Again, a criterion of this kind was wanted for the I.M. Rose found on so many of these coins affords by itself no evidence of their date.

Fleuring (see drawings at end)

The fleuring provides one of the quickest and most reliable means of placing ryals and groats in their approximate position in the series. Initially a large well-formed fleur (Fig. 4) is found at the points of the tressures on the groats and in the spandrels on the reverses of the ryals, and this continues until the introduction of a small trefoil (Fig. 5) in those positions on late coins of type VII (I.M. Crown), except for a short period in type V when the trefoil made a premature appearance on a limited number of groats. That these trefoil-fleured groats of type V are correctly placed here and not in association with the general series of such coins is shown by their having in most cases on the reverse the early P associated with the earlier Rose-marked groats (P2), a form that is never found later in the series and did not last for long.

It was, as we have just said, late coins type VII which began the general series with the small trefoil of pellets in place of the more shapely fleur, a series which continued in both gold and silver (including the coins of Henry VI) until type XV, when a larger trefoil of three pellets (Fig. 6) was introduced. This in turn lasted until type XVIII, when, with the change of fount already mentioned, a well-shaped fleur appeared similar to that found on the early issues. These fleurs lasted until the end of the reign.

While the fleuring on the smaller issues does not follow so closely that on the larger coins owing to limitations of space, the presence of large fleurs on rare half-groats of York and London with I.M. Sun, and on certain half-groats of Canterbury, provides corroborative evidence of their early date as suggested by the initial marks.

Stops

In the gold a few specimens of all coins of the first reign show saltire stops, but the great majority of the ryals and half-ryals have trefoils.

Apart from the frequent and probably deliberate insertion of them between the letters of a word, they present no unusual features. Other marks found in the legend include small lis, roses, and quatrefoils; these may or may not be regarded as stops but they probably at least furnish a link between coins similarly marked. On the quarter-ryals they are more probably stops, but their precise significance is somewhat baffling. A rare angel of Henry VI shows saltire stops, but the others show trefoils. In Edward's second reign saltires at first alternate with trefoils but finally replace them on type XV (Annulet-with-pellet) and persist until the end of the reign, though on some obverse dies of angels of type XVI (Cross and four pellets) a large trefoil is found at the end of the legend. On half-angels pellet stops appear on some coins of type XII (Short Cross Fitchy) and their curious mules with type XIV (Small Annulet) which show the king's titles on both sides. As with the angels saltires become the rule with type XV, but the new stops are now often supplemented by roses and suns interspersed in the legend (usually the reverse)—indeed roses had appeared on some half-angels with I.M. Annulet (XIV).

On the silver up to and including type VI (Sun) the saltire alone is found (save for two isolated groats of type V (Rose) which have trefoils). Thereafter the trefoil appears in gradually increasing proportions, sometimes associated with saltires on the same side of the coin, e.g. in types X (Long Cross Fitchy/Sun) and XII (Short Cross Fitchy). On types VI and VII (Crown) fleurs-de-lis, either with other stops or alone, are occasionally found on the groats. The association of this mark by Walters with the Calais mint may be dismissed as groundless. Lis are found as stops on both London and provincial coins.

On type XIII (Large Annulet/Trefoil) annulet stops are found (on the obverse), their only appearance in this reign. With type XV, as in the case of the gold, the trefoil stop is finally displaced and is found no more. The saltire is henceforward the normal stop, but again, as with the gold, there are supplementary marks in the roses and suns, or roses alone, which make irregular appearances in the legends of groats between types XVIII*b* (Cross and pellet) and XXI (Cinquefoil). These marks then finally disappear.

THE HEAVY COINAGE

(For the lists see *p.* 41)

Type I

Although there is a gap in the Mint accounts for the two years from September 1460 to September 1462, it seems likely that type I was produced as a result of the indenture of 23 May 1461, that is, two months after Edward IV gained the throne.

In style the coins closely resemble the latest of those of Henry VI, but it is a testimony to the thoroughness with which Edward sought to eradicate from the public memory the name of Henry that no coins are known from altered obverse dies, though on one of the nobles *a* is

struck over **n** on the reverse, and on certain very rare Durham pennies an obverse of Henry VI is found muled with a reverse of Edward IV. In this case the reverse die was of local manufacture.

There can be little doubt that this departure from the general practice of usurping kings, who as in the case of Henry IV and Richard III employed a number of altered dies, must have been dictated by policy. If left without specific instructions it is almost certain that mint masters would have altered dies for the sake of economy. It is noteworthy that altered dies are not found on Henry's restoration nor again when Edward IV recovered the throne in 1471.

The coins which can be attributed to this type are all from the London mint. Durham, though active during the heavy coinage, employed dies of local manufacture which cannot in consequence be brought into line with the London types.¹ York does not appear to have struck its pence till later in the heavy coinage (type III). The denominations known of London are the noble, groat, half-groat, penny, halfpenny, and farthing.

Nobles. The weight remained unchanged at 108 grains, to which it had been reduced by Henry IV, and the value at 6s. 8d. Two specimens only are known, one in the British Museum, the other in Mr. Lockett's collection. A description of these coins is given in the list attached to this paper. It will be noticed that the initial mark, found only on the reverse, is a lis, as on the latest nobles of Henry VI. There are, however, a number of minor differences on the obverse besides the change in the king's name. The ship has four ropes to the stern and two to the prow, as against two and one respectively on the Henry VI coin; the ship on Edward's coin lacks a rudder; the legend starts to the left of the top of the coin instead of to the right of the sail.²

Groats. The weight remains unchanged at 60 grains. Although scarce, these coins are far less rare than those of the lis-pellet issue of Henry VI with which they have many points in common. The features of this issue in the silver are the Cross I.M. (either plain or fleury), the lis on the king's breast or neck, and the pellet either side of the crown and in two quarters of the reverse. These are found on coins of all denominations. In addition, on some groats and on the pennies a mascle is found in the obverse legend (Pl. I, 2). This is a feature found on late coins of Henry VI and is quite distinct from the object called an eye (Pl. I, 9), which appears on type III of Edward's coins.

Four distinct types of obverse have been noted and three of the reverse. They are so much intermingled on the coins that it has seemed best to record them separately and to show in tabular form the combinations of which we have records.

¹ These will be dealt with in a separate section dealing with Durham and York coins.

² For further comparison see "The Heavy Coinage of Henry VI", *Brit. Num. Journ.* xxiii. 400-1.

The earliest obverse is probably type I(a) which has I.M. Cross Fleury, a pellet either side of the crown and in two quarters of the reverse, a fleur-de-lis on the king's neck, and the breast arch fleured. This is generally found coupled with a reverse I(α) which has I.M. Small Fleur-de-lis. As, however, it is also found muled with the reverse type II with I.M. Rose it may possibly have continued in issue concurrently with the later subdivisions of type I.

I(b) is similar to I(a) except that the initial mark is a plain cross and that the cusp at the breast is sometimes not fleured. It is in this type that a masle is found on certain rare coins at the end of the obverse legend, and the copula omitted. Both these features recall the last groats of Henry VI.

I(c) continues the I.M. Plain Cross, but the fleur-de-lis is now moved to the breast arch of the tressure.

I(d) is similar to I(c), but omits the pellets by the crown.

It will be noticed that the reading **ƆR̄GUL** is found on certain of the coins of I(b), (c), and (d). This is a reading consistently found on the latest groats of Henry VI. In Edward's type II it gives way to the more usual **ƆR̄GUL**.

The reverses are distinguished by their initial marks. They consistently have a pellet in two quarters.

I(α) has I.M. Fleur-de-lis.

I(β) has I.M. Plain Cross.

I(γ) has no I.M.

The fact that it is types I(a) and I(b) that are found muled with a reverse of type II would normally suggest that they should come last in the series. Their close affinity to the coins of Henry VI has, however, made us place them first, but we do so with the caveat that the whole of this type is so intermingled by combinations of obverse and reverse that it is not impossible that the entire issue may have been more or less concurrent.

Half-groats. Of the half-groats of type I we have records of only three specimens, one of which may be associated with I(a), the other two with I(b).

The coin of I(a) has I.M. Cross Fleury, a pellet either side of the crown and in two quarters of the reverse. Unlike the groats the lis is placed on the breast point of the tressure. There is no reverse initial mark.

The coins of type I(b) are generally similar but have I.M. Plain Cross on the obverse.

Pence. Of the true penny of type I we know of only three specimens. The obverses are similar, have I.M. Plain Cross, a pellet either side of the crown, and, like the groats, a lis on the king's neck. A masle is found after **R̄EX**. On the reverse the pellets are found either in the **QIVI**, **LOŃ** or **T̄NS**, **DOŃ** quarters. These coins may be attributed to I(b).

A unique mule penny II/I(b) is also known.

Halfpence. Though still of considerable rarity, rather more specimens of the halfpenny of type I are known than of the half-groats or pence. With the exception of having no mascle in the obverse legend, they exactly resemble the pence. Reverses are found with pellets in the **QIVI**, **UON** and **TAS**, **DON** quarters and like the pence they may be attributed to type I(b). The coins omit **DI GRA**.

Farthings. Two specimens only appear to be known. The one now in the Fitzwilliam Museum was formerly in the Montagu Collection. They resemble the halfpence in all respects, but both have the extra pellet in the **TAS**, **DON** quarters. These are the only farthings that can be attributed to Edward IV, though, as has been shown, others were actually struck later in the reign.

Type II

Walters has suggested that type II superseded type I at the same time as the introduction of a new great seal embodying Edward IV's personal badges, the sun and the rose, in December 1461, and although documentary evidence is lacking, this may well be the case.

As we have already said, the use of these emblems marked a new departure in the coinage. With the exception of the use of the lis on the gold and its occasional use on the silver, the initial mark had through long tradition usually consisted of some form of cross. With type II Edward IV introduced the rose as initial mark and in due course, in the light coinage, followed it by the sun and the crown, all either personal or royal emblems. These marks are found on the gold as well as on the silver, and it was no doubt intended to eliminate as completely as possible the lis which was so closely associated with Henry VI.

The coins of type II are of silver only and were struck exclusively at the London mint. The groat, half-groat, penny, and halfpenny are known. Besides the I.M. Rose other distinguishing features are the introduction of a quatrefoil either side of the king's neck and, on the groats and half-groats, the placing of a crescent on the breast point of the tressure.

Mention must be made of the different forms taken by the Rose I.M. The earliest type which is found on the obverse of all groats of type II is a large well-defined flower of five petals which meet round a pierced centre (see drawings, Fig. 1); the second variety which is often found on the reverse, both of this and later types, is a small rosette with angular petals (Fig. 2) though a variant of it is just a smaller version of Fig. 1, recalling the characteristic emblem in the Rosette-Mascle Coinage of Henry VI; the third has five detached petals round a central pellet (see Fig. 3). This is primarily associated with types III and IV.

The place of type II in the series is confirmed by the existence of mule groats I/II and II/III.

Groats. The type has been described above. Certain scarce coins have an annulet on one side or other of the initial mark, and one

extremely rare variety is found which has two different roses as initial mark on the obverse (Walters Sale, 1913, 392). On the reverse, stops are usually found in the outer legend only. Their introduction in the inner legend appears to have started with type III.

Half-groats. These coins conform closely to the style of the parallel groats. They have a crescent on the breast with quatrefoils by the bust, but no eye or extra pellets on the reverse. Two or three specimens are known and, in addition, one or two mules with obverses of type III.

Pence. The mule penny II/I mentioned under the previous type has pellet stops on the obverse but omits the crescent on the breast. Like the groats, however, it has quatrefoils by the bust and, of course, the I.M. Rose. A true coin exists from the same obverse die coupled with a reverse die which omits the pellets (Pl. II, 4 and 5 with a common reverse die; Pl. II, 5 and 6 with a common obverse die). A mule is also known with an obverse of type III.

Halfpence. In general it is often difficult to associate exactly the smaller coins with those of larger denominations. The eye on the reverse, one of the characteristics of type III, is found only very rarely on the halfpence, but the comparative profusion of groats of type III compared with those of type II makes it appear likely that other halfpence should be associated with it. Some, however, have pellet stops, and a pellet is occasionally found to the right of the initial mark before **EDWTRD**, in which position it is comparable to the annulet found on the groats. These halfpence have therefore been attributed to type II and the remainder, somewhat arbitrarily, to type III. Both types generally insert **DI GRN**, a detail which Brooke apparently overlooked (*English Coins*, p. 155).

Type III

The characteristic marks of this type are the quatrefoils by the king's bust, the small trefoil of pellets (quite distinct from the other fleurs) on the king's breast, and the introduction of saltire stops and an object usually called an eye in the inner legend of the reverse. The initial mark remains a rose, but now usually takes the form of a rose with a pellet in the centre on the obverse, coupled with a rosette on the reverse.

Brooke claims this as type IV and calls our type IV type III. Our reason for differing from his views is that our classification is supported by muled groats of II/III and III/IV (in each case both ways), whereas none are recorded as far as we know between II and IV.

Groats. The groats of type III are the most plentiful of the heavy coinage. The variations of the stops on the reverse, especially in the inner legend, point to a complicated system of control being in force at the mint. That it did not prove a success is suggested by the fact that, with the exception of the "eye", the stops were later removed

from the inner legends; reverses of type IV were to show no stops at all.

Type III, all coins of which have I.M. Rose, may be subdivided as follows:

- III(a). *Obv.* Quatrefoils by neck; trefoil on breast.
Rev. No eye. Saltire stops in inner and outer legends.
- III(b). *Obv.* As III(a).
Rev. Eye before **MON**. Saltire stops in inner and outer legends.
- III(c). *Obv.* As III(a).
Rev. Eye after **MON**. Saltire stops in inner and outer legends.
- III(d). *Obv.* No quatrefoils by bust. The cusp on the breast usually omits the trefoil. The coins are rare.
Rev. Eye after **QVIVITVS**; saltire stops in outer legend; none in inner.
- III(e). *Obv.* As III(a).
Rev. Eye after **QVIVITVS**. Saltire stops in one or other legend, but usually in both.
- III(f). *Obv.* As III(a).
Rev. Trefoil stops in outer legend; none in inner legend. No eye. This reverse is rare.

Groats of III(a), (b), (c), and (d) are found muled with obverses of II. Those with reverses of III(e) are muled with obverses of IV. The mule obverse III, reverse IV is also found.

It will be found that III(e) is by far the most plentiful; the others are in fact of some rarity. It seems likely therefore that III(e) represented the finalized type, after the experimental coins of III(a)-(d), and that III(f), which shows considerable simplification of the stoping, marks the transition to type IV.

The appearance of trefoil stops [on III(f)] at this period is most exceptional on silver coins. That they probably occurred late in the type is suggested by the fact that these stops are also found on a few extremely rare groats of type V(b) which were of light issue.

Half-groats. Half-groats are found of type III but are of great rarity. They have the characteristic marks of the type, quatrefoils by the neck, a trefoil of pellets on the king's breast, and an eye in the inner legend of the reverse after **QVIVITVS**. One specimen at the British Museum omits the eye, suggesting a reverse of type II. The coin is therefore listed as a mule. The reverse initial mark is absent. The obverse is anomalous in omitting the quatrefoils by the bust and the trefoil on the breast, but these omissions are both recognized features of some groats of type III. Another mule, while omitting the eye, inserts the quatrefoils by the bust, but has a large fleur instead of a small trefoil on the breast.

Pence. London. We have seen only two true pennies of London that can be attributed to type III. Both are in Mr. Lockett's collection. They have the quatrefoils in the field and an eye in the reverse legend, in one case before **ΛΟΝ**, in the other after **ΛΙΥΙΤΤΣ**. The former piece weighs only $8\frac{1}{2}$ grains but is much clipped. It is attributed to the heavy, rather than to the light, coinage on the grounds that the eye before **ΛΟΝ** is found on early groats of this type but not on later ones. The obverse die of the latter piece is also found muled with a reverse of type II.

York. To type III can be attributed the only pennies of the heavy coinage struck at York. These were issued by Archbishop William Booth and are fairly rare. Like the London coins they have quatrefoils in the field. The eye after **ΛΙΥΙΤΤΣ** is doubtful. They also have a quatrefoil in the centre of the reverse and are of normal London workmanship.

Halfpence. The vagueness of definite distinguishing marks between the halfpence of type III and those of type II has already been mentioned.

Type IV

Compared with the complexity of type III, type IV is an issue that conforms truly to type. It is confined to the silver and to the London mint and is found of all denominations from the groat to the halfpenny.

I.M. Rose is continued, usually with a pellet centre, and the distinguishing feature is the substitution of annulets for quatrefoils in the field by the king's bust. On the reverse the eye is still found after **ΛΙΥΙΤΤΣ**, but other stops are completely eliminated from both the inner and outer legends. The copula during this issue takes on a new form with cross-bar (X).

The coins of this type are more frequently found struck on the basis of 48 grains to the groat, and the latter are dealt with under type V. Obverses of these are found muled with reverses of the light coinage, with an extra pellet in the reverse—further confirmation, if any be needed, that this issue must be the last of the heavy coinage.

Groats. On the groats the breast arch is found fleured and unfleured. The small trefoil characteristic of type III is, however, never found.

Half-groats. We have listed one specimen with the eye in the reverse legend, though it may be a mule with a reverse of type III; all coins agree with the groats in having no stops in the outer legend. In the inner legend varieties show two pellets or two saltires after **ΛΙΥΙΤΤΣ**, or no stops.

Pence. The few specimens so far recorded have all been of light weight. Mr. Lockett, however, recently acquired one which weighs 13 grains (bare) and so may probably be regarded as of the heavy coinage. No eye is found on the reverse.

Halfpence. The halfpence are similar to the pence and are distinctly rarer than those of types II and III. There are two varieties, with and without the words **DI GRÆ**.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL MINTS OF YORK AND DURHAM, 1461-83

(For the lists see p. 47)

The coins of the ecclesiastical mints of York and Durham call for a somewhat detailed treatment. For some time past these two mints, especially the former, had been providing a substantial part of the coinage of pennies for the realm. In Edward IV's reign the output from them rose to far greater proportions, and, to judge by surviving specimens, must have provided by far the greater part of the coinage of pennies for the whole country. The two mints have another feature in common, namely, that they both at times produced coins from locally made dies. In the early part of the reign of Edward IV particularly, it is easy to believe, with Dr. Brooke,¹ that the transport of dies from London was difficult, if not impracticable.

It had long been the custom for prelates to place on their coins their personal marks. The Durham coins of Edward I and II and the first issues of Edward III bore the personal marks of contemporary bishops, as in Henry VI's reign the coins of Bishop Langley showed a star beside the crown, while those of Bishop Robert Neville bore the two interlaced rings which appear on his coat of arms. The reign of Edward IV was to see this practice considerably extended. The Archbishop of York had, however, not made a practice of putting any personal marks on his coins, if we except the peculiar cross on the first issue of Edward III which is associated with Richard de Snoweshulle who was warden of the mint at that time. In Edward IV's reign the practice was introduced whereby archbishop and bishop placed their initials on the coins (accompanied in the case of York by the Key of St. Peter), thereby directly identifying the coins with them.

It is perhaps appropriate, before passing to a separate consideration of these mints, to say that several hitherto unpublished coins have come to light since the last detailed study of them appeared. In this connexion we should like to thank Mr. R. Carlyon-Britton who recently brought to our notice details of a find of this period, consisting largely of York and Durham pence of Edward IV. These coins were found near Bootham Bar, at York, in March 1896, and were sold at Sotheby's on 1 May 1919.² Mr. Carlyon-Britton then had an opportunity of examining the coins, and his manuscript notes which he has kindly placed at our disposal confirm and elaborate the briefer descriptions in the catalogue. No account of this hoard appears to have been published: it is cited in the lists as the "Bootham Find".

¹ *Brit. Num. Journ.* xxi. 74.

² We are indebted for this information to Mr. Wagstaffe and Mr. Geoffrey Thompson, the courteous curators at the Yorkshire Museum, and to the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, in whose possession the coins now are.

York

The mint of York has been the subject of several special papers, and reference should be made to two in particular, namely, the paper of Mr. Lawrence in *Num. Chron.*, Series V, vol. v (1925), pp. 366-79, and that of Dr. Brooke in this Society's *Journal*, vol. xxi, pp. 73-87, both of which contain a wealth of careful reasoning and information. Dr. Brooke's paper deals largely with the difficult question of the attribution of coins bearing on one side the mark of the archiepiscopal mint, i.e. the initial on the obverse or the quatrefoil on the reverse, and on the other side no such mark. The conclusions reached by Dr. Brooke, and indeed by Mr. Lawrence, are very convincing; they are, in effect, that the absence of the archbishop's mark on one side or the other was in itself sufficient to identify the coins as not being struck at the mint while under his control. That is, they were struck at the ecclesiastical mint at some time when the temporalities were in the hands of the king or his appointed receiver. These occasions arose either in the interval between the death of one archbishop and the appointment of his successor, or on account of the archbishop's having incurred the royal displeasure and so suffered the confiscation of his temporalities. In a period of internal strife such as the Wars of the Roses, when the magnates, ecclesiastics as well as laymen, were the class chiefly affected, occasions for this procedure were more than likely to occur.

When Edward IV came to the throne, the Archbishop of York was William Booth, who had occupied the see since 1452. He appears quickly to have grasped the situation and acquiesced in Edward's accession, and took part in his coronation.¹ He died on 12 September 1464, and pence of the heavy issue are attributed to him. At this time the practice of placing initials on the coins had not been introduced. His coins show their ecclesiastical origin by the quatrefoil in the centre of the reverse. They are of normal London work, with quatrefoils by the bust, and are described under Type III.

On William Booth's death the temporalities of the see were taken over by the king. The custodian now appointed to receive them was George Neville, the future archbishop, and brother to the Earl of Warwick, whose influence was still paramount. The dates connected with Neville's acquisition of his privileges are as follows:

1. September 1464, appointed custodian of the temporalities for the king.
2. March 1465, elected Archbishop of York.
3. June 1465, officially confirmed in the enjoyment of his temporalities.

It seems therefore that the *Sede Vacante* period ended in June 1465. In any case the coins then struck are of considerable rarity, and are distinguished from those of William Booth by the absence of the quatrefoil in the centre of the reverse. A curious feature of the few surviving specimens is that several weigh more than the statutory

¹ *D.N.B.*

12 grains of the time. This led Mr. Lawrence to suppose that the introduction of the light coinage did not effectively take place until the indenture of March 1465.¹ This contention can hardly be sustained. The indenture of August 1464 lays down, in a manner that admits of no doubt, that the penny was in future to weigh 12 grains. The specimens of this *Sede Vacante* issue are so rare that it would be, in our opinion, unwise to dispute on their evidence alone so clearly worded an order. It is true that one coin (*Num. Chron.*, 1909, Pl. x, 7) weighs 13½ grains, but others weigh less, even in fine condition. The initial marks are two, first, Rose, second, Sun.

Neville's first coins were struck from locally made dies bearing his initial **G** and the Key by the bust. The coins are by no means uncommon and are easily recognized by their crudity and their omission of **GRN** or **DEI GRN**: they have I.M. Rose or Cross.

The London-made dies, with I.M. Sun, which followed, still bore the **G** and Key by the bust, as did their immediate successors with I.M. Large Lis. Then, however, a change was introduced in the style of the obverse, and the next few issues showed either quatrefoils or trefoils by the bust as on the London coins themselves. Just before the end of the first reign, however, the **G** and Key were once more restored, on coins with either Small Lis or Long Cross Fitchy.

Of the coins with I.M. Large Lis one or two are anomalous and need further mention. One omits the quatrefoils by the bust, in the manner perhaps of certain London groats which show the same peculiarity; another has a cross stamped over the I.M. Lis. This is perhaps intended for a Short Cross Fitchy, which, as will later appear, was used by Neville immediately after Edward's restoration. In that case our coin can be assigned to the second reign, as Brooke suggested (*Brit. Num. Journ.* xxi. 77), and be regarded as an old die brought into service again. Brooke, however, regarded the Cross as belonging to the Cross and pellets period. It seems impossible to decide the question and we have tentatively assigned the coin to type XII.

During Henry's restoration Neville continued to strike his coins with I.M. Lis: they are of the usual type with **G** and Key beside the neck and a quatrefoil in the reverse. On Edward's return to the throne on 11 April 1471, Neville succeeded in gaining the royal favour once again and was pardoned by the king on 19 April. It was not, however, until 4 June that he was released from the Tower where he had been imprisoned.² If coins were struck before his release it would probably be for the king's account.

Neville enjoyed only a short period of freedom, for on 25 April 1472 he was arrested for corresponding with the exiled Earl of Oxford. The coins struck during his freedom are the pennies of type XII, with I.M. Short Cross Fitchy, and have **G** and the Key by the bust and a quatrefoil in the centre of the reverse.

After his arrest Neville was sent to Calais and imprisoned near by until the summer of 1475. Meanwhile the revenues of the see were in

¹ *Num. Chron.*, 1925, pp. 373-5.

² *D.N.B.*

the hands of the king. At first an old die with I.M. Short Cross Fitchy and G and Key was employed, a procedure revealed by such a coin with no quatrefoil in the reverse. Later, coins of type XIV (Small Annulet) and possibly XVI (here Cross over Annulet, though we have not seen this coin) are found of this period. On these coins there are no marks in the field on the obverse. In the case of the coins of type XIV the quatrefoil on the reverse is also occasionally absent: indeed, coins are known struck from the same obverse die with and without the quatrefoil. The last coins of this *Sede Vacante* period are probably those which have no marks or G and a rose beside the bust.

Neville survived his release from prison by about a year and died on 8 June 1476. His coins of this period have I.M. Rose (in one case struck over an Annulet) and G and Rose or G and Key beside the bust. These coins too may perhaps be associated with type XVI. A coin stated in the Longbottom catalogue (lot 190) to be a coin of Neville's showing I.M. Cross and Pellet seems perhaps to have been misread by the compiler. By the time the Cross and Pellet series began, probably in 1477, Neville was dead and Archbishop Booth was issuing his pence with B and Key beside the bust.

On Neville's death the temporalities returned to the king, Lawrence Booth being appointed custodian. They were handed to him as archbishop on 1 October 1476. There is therefore a period of four months during which *Sede Vacante* coins could have been struck. The coins attributed to this interval are those with I.M. Rose, no marks in the obverse field, but, perhaps instead, a rose on the breast. They have the quatrefoil in the centre of the reverse.

Lawrence Booth's own coins are marked with a B and a Key by the bust and have I.M. Rose or more rarely Cinquefoil. Those with the former mark may reasonably be associated with the prolific type XVIII; those with the latter with type XXI, and there is an interesting piedfort of this issue at the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. Booth held the see for four years and died on 19 May 1480. The coins of the *Sede Vacante* period following his death, which must also be associated with type XXI, have I.M. Rose, B and a Key by the bust, but no quatrefoil on the reverse.

Booth was succeeded by Thomas Rotherham who was archbishop until 1500. His coins are marked with T and a Key and the usual quatrefoil on the reverse. The initial mark is the now invariable Rose. The coins are probably to be associated with type XXI.

Durham

Complicated as the situation is at York, it is even more so at Durham, for here there are two large groups of coins from dies of local manufacture, which precludes the possibility of comparison with the London mint. Documentary evidence as to the life of Lawrence Booth, bishop from 1457 to 1476 when, as we have seen, he was translated to York, is moreover scanty, and we can only deduce from the coins his actions between 1464 and 1471. Add to this the fact that the

coins of local workmanship are generally badly struck and seldom show the whole reading, and the difficulty of the series will be appreciated. These may be some of the reasons why the coins of Durham have not received the same attention as those of York.

The Bishops of Durham began the practice of placing their initials on the coins with type V (I.M. Rose). The earliest coins have **B** (for Booth) and **D** (for Durham) by the bust. On some coins of this issue the bishop's initial is also found in the centre of the reverse. On the ensuing issue it is omitted on the reverse but later a **D** (for Durham) is found (that is, on coins of the normal London work). Now therefore we have to discover new means of identifying coins struck during a period when the temporalities were in the king's hands. At York the omission of the ecclesiastical marks on one side or the other was sufficient to identify such pieces. At Durham it must have been necessary to scrap the obverse dies and obtain new ones without the bishop's initials. This seems to have been the practice.

When Edward IV seized the throne, Lawrence Booth appears to have attempted, outwardly at least, to ingratiate himself with him, for he attended his Parliament after the battle of Towton, fought on 16 March 1461. He does not appear, however, to have won the king's permanent favour, for his temporalities were seized on 28 December 1462. They remained in the king's hands until 17 April 1464,¹ four months before the introduction of the light coinage.

It is not possible to distinguish the coins of this period when the temporalities were in the king's hands from the earliest of Bishop Booth extending into the first months of the light coinage. All are from locally made dies and have no episcopal mark. The initial mark is a Cross or Rose and a rose is usually found in the centre of the reverse. A notable feature is the omission, as at York at much the same time, of the words **DI GRÆ**. The weight, the one factor which might be expected to provide some guide, is of little assistance. As far as can be ascertained few specimens weigh over 12 grains and these few only slightly so. Yet the fact that reverses of Edward IV from this issue are on certain coins found muled with obverses of Henry VI [**Pl. III, 1**] suggests that at least some must be of the heavy issue. It is, however, reasonable to suppose that the greater part were struck by Booth after the introduction of the light coinage.

As at York, the first dies that came from London bore the I.M. Rose: they have by the bust Booth's initial letter **B** and **D**, with **B** in the centre of the reverse. They were followed by coins with I.M. Sun with a quatrefoil and **B** beside the bust. The **B** on the reverse was now dropped, but is found on mules showing a reverse of the previous issue. These were followed by similar coins with I.M. Crown and either **B**² or **D** with a quatrefoil by the bust. Then a change was made similar to and probably contemporary with that which we have already noticed at York. The bishop's initial was omitted and the dies show two quatrefoils or two trefoils, and later two lis, beside the

¹ *D.N.B.*

² Walters records such a coin. We have not seen one.

bust. These coins all bear the I.M. Crown, which seems to have been the last mark used at Durham during the first reign.

No coins are known of Durham of Henry VI's restoration, and on Edward's return Booth must have successfully persuaded the king of his fidelity and been confirmed in his temporalities, since we find him striking coins in 1471. Coins are known with I.M. Short Cross Fitchy. In one case the cross is overstruck by the king's initial **E**, a peculiarity shared by a London penny of the same period. In point of fact, these two coins are struck from the same obverse die. We list here the Durham coin but illustrate both in a later article (on **Pl. XIII**).

The London initial marks now reappear in a coin with I.M. Trefoil and no marks by the neck which should belong to this period, and be assignable to type XIII, where the groats have this mark on the reverse.

Shortly afterwards the marks by the bust reappeared, and include the bishop's initial **B**. Coins are known with **B** and a trefoil on either side of the neck. At the same time the letter **D** was introduced in the centre of the reverse where it remained until the end of the reign.

These coins are a little complicated and appear to have been struck in the following order:

1. I.M. Trefoil, with **B** and a trefoil by the bust; this again is a new coin, although cited in the catalogue of the Bootham Find. A coin from the Drabble Sale, moreover, confirms its existence. This coin is presumably assignable to type XIII.
2. I.M. Rose, with **B** and trefoil by the bust. These coins can probably be assigned to type XIV.
3. I.M. \odot , and **B** and trefoil beside the bust, of type XV (**Pl. III, 8**).
4. I.M. Rose, with a lis either side of the bust, perhaps also of type XV (**Pl. III, 9**).

On 21 June 1473 Booth was given licence to make his own dies and also to coin halfpence.¹ It will be remembered that the privileges of the Archbishop of Canterbury also were extended in this reign, in his case to include half-groats and halfpence as well as pence. York is the only ecclesiastical mint not to have had its privileges so extended.

On 26 August 1473 William Omoryghe, goldsmith of York, is commissioned "to grave and print two dozen trussels and one dozen standards for pennies and four standards and eight trussels for half-pennies within the castle of Durham, under the inspection of Henry Gylowe, Chancellor of Durham".² In 1474 there is a further order to supply three dozen trussels and two dozen standards for pennies only. Irregularities seem soon to have occurred, for pardon was granted to Lawrence Bishop of Durham on 14 March 1475 "for the manufacture of his moneyers of money not of true alloy and weight, as he has declared that this was done without his knowledge".³

The earliest coins struck under the licence of 1473 can be identified by a mule having a reverse of London work, reading **DERHAM**, the usual reading on London-made dies, coupled with an obverse of local work with **B** by the crown and a **V** on the king's neck. On these local

¹ *Patent Rolls*, vol. ii, p. 393. ² *Ruding*, vol. ii, p. 167. ³ *Patent Rolls*, vol. ii, p. 511

dies the reverse legend is always DVROLMIÆ. A small V (of unknown significance) is usually found outside the pellets in the second quarter of the reverse, and a D is invariable in the centre. The initial mark we have called a Pansy¹ and the stops are pellets and saltires (sometimes mixed) and an extra pellet is found in one or in all quarters. Another variety of obverse omits the episcopal letters (B, V) but shows two crosses over the crown and sometimes a cross on the breast. It is coupled with a reverse which shows some hesitation in the insertion of the small V. These coins were tentatively assigned by Brooke to the *Sede Vacante* period following Booth's translation to York. The initial mark is a Rose. In view of the greater variety of coins now known we have enlarged Brooke's summary in his *English Coins* (p. 160) into more elaborate lists. These will reveal some slight divergence from his views. The halfpence read DERRM, but the legends are seldom complete on either denomination.

Lawrence Booth was translated to York in 1476. The temporalities of the see were granted to him in June, and he received them as custodian on 1 October. His successor at Durham was William Dudley, appointed in September or October 1476, but there appears to be no record of the date on which he received the temporalities. It is presumed, however, that the customary *Sede Vacante* period intervened, and hitherto no alternative for the coins struck during that time has been suggested to Brooke's provisional view that they were such coins from local dies as have no episcopal letters, B or V, on the obverse. We have now assigned these coins, which are those with crosses over the crown, to Booth's latter years in the episcopate. They seem too numerous for the short *Sede Vacante* period in question, to which we have therefore allotted a rare coin with I.M. Rose and no marks at all in the field (PL. III, 13). The reverse reads DVROLMIÆ and shows D in the centre and an extra pellet in each quarter; it is thus a mule with the previous issue.

Ruding² quotes a commission of 1476 by Dudley to William Omoryghe, now of Durham, to engrave three dozen trussels and two dozen standards for pennies and two dozen trussels and one dozen standards for halfpennies. In spite of this substantial order for halfpenny dies no specimen can with certainty be attributed to Dudley, though Mr. Lockett's coin (listed tentatively under Booth) may well be Dudley's in fact.

The varieties of Bishop Dudley's coins are less numerous than Booth's, and the design is simplified by a return to the former practice of placing one or more initials beside the neck. There are two main varieties: one, presumably the earlier, has the letter V (of uncertain significance) to the right of the neck or higher, beside the hair; it has I.M. Rose: the other, probably later, has for initial mark a version of the Cinquefoil, and D and V on either side of the neck.

¹ It differs from the various Rose marks in having long slender petals, as in the Pansy of Henry VII (PL. III, 10); for a better illustration see *Num. Chron.*, 1914, PL. XXIV, 9.

² Vol. ii, p. 167.

Dudley survived the king by a few months. The Bishop of Durham's privilege of making his own dies was withdrawn by Richard III, who, in 1484, ordered the surrender of certain dies at Durham and the issue of new ones from London.¹

LISTS

NOBLES

1461-4 (*Heavy Issue*)

1. EDWARD' DI' * GRN REX ANGL S * RRANQ * DNS hVB'

Pellets either side of crown and in legend; ropes 4/2; lis below shield; on ship lis lion lis lion lis.

IRQ' AVT' TRANNIENS PER MEDIVM ILIORV' IBNT

Æ and pellet in centre. I.M. Lis. Wt. 107½ grs. (Pl. II, 18)

B.M.

2. Similar, but pellet after DNS and on one side only of crown, above swordpoint; reverse similar, but Æ over inverted h (without pellet) in centre. Wt. 107½ grs. (Pl. II, 19)

R.C.L.

1464-5 (*Light Issue*)

3. Obv. I.M. Small Rose EDWARD' DI' GRN' REX' ANGL' S * RRANQ DNS' hVB

Quatrefoil below king's sword arm; ropes 4/1; no pellets by crown or in legend; no lis below shield.

Rev. I.M. Lis. IRQ' AVT' TRANNIENS (sic) PER MEDIVM ILIORV' (sic) * IBNT

Wt. 107.6 grs. (Pl. II, 20) The Brooke Memorial coin. B.M.

HEAVY GROATS

Type I. Obverses. Normal reading EDWARD DI GRN REX ANGL S RRANQ

- (a) I.M. Cross Fleury. Small pellet either side of crown. Fleur-de-lis on king's neck. Breast arch fleured. (Pl. I, 1)

(i) As above. One die shows Æ struck over initial mark.

(ii) Reading RRAN

(iii) Reading RRAN; lacks one fleur to left of breast fleur.

- (b) I.M. Plain Cross. Small pellet either side of crown. Fleur-de-lis on king's neck.

(i) Breast arch fleured.

(ii) " " ; RRANQ (Pl. I, 3)

(iii) Breast arch not fleured.

(iv) Breast arch fleured. Mascle at end of obverse legend; reads DEI and ANGLI; omits copula. No stops. Two dies noted. (Pl. I, 2)

- (c) I.M. Plain Cross. Small pellet either side of crown. Fleur-de-lis on breast point of tressure.

(i) Reading ANGL

(ii) Reading ANGLI (Pl. I, 4)

- (d) I.M. Plain Cross. No pellets by crown. Fleur-de-lis on breast point of tressure.

(i) Reading ANGL (Pl. I, 5)

(ii) Reading ANGLI

Type I. Reverses. Normal reading POSVI DEVM ADIVTORE MEVM CIVITATIS LONDON Saltire stops in outer legend. An extra pellet in two quarters.

- (α) I.M. Small Fleur-de-lis.

(i) With pellet in CIVI and LON quarters. Saltire stops. (Pl. I, 1)

(ii) " " " " " " No stops. (Pl. I, 3)

(iii) " " TNS " DON " Saltire stops.

¹ Ruding, vol. ii, p. 168.

(c) Eye after **UON**(i) **ANGL** * **S** * **RRND** Rev. **QIVI** / or **QIVI** * / **TTS** * / **UON** eye / **DOR** *

Outer legend no stops.

(ii) **ANGL** * **S** * **RRND** ' * * Rev. **DAVM** * ; **QIVI** * / **TTS** * / **UON** eye / **DOR** *(d) Eye after **QIVITTS**

Rev. Saltire stops in one or other legend and usually in both.

Obverses

- (i) Pellet to left, annulet to right, of I.M. Stops *, **DI** * , **RAX** *
 (ii) Stops * including one after **RRND** ; * after **DI** (Pl. I, 9)
 (iii) Stops * in legend. None at end. * after **DI**
 (iv) " " " " **DI** * ; **RAX** *
 (v) " " * after **RRND** ; **DI** * ; **RAX** *
 (vi) " " None at end. **GRN** * ; **RAX** *
 (vii) " " **GRN** * ; **RAX** * ; **RRND** *
 (viii) " " None at end. **ANGL** * **S** * **RRND**
 (ix) " " **RRND** ' * *
 (x) " " None at end; one reads **ANGL** (Pl. I, 11)
 (xi) " " Omits quatrefoils by neck.
 (xii) Omits quatrefoils by neck. No trefoil on breast. **RRND** , **RRNDIA** * ,
RRND (with **DAVM** *) **RRND** * ; some have no stops. (Pl. I, 10)

Reverses. The following variations are found in the outer legend:**POSVI** / **DAVM** * **N** / **DIVTOR** / **E** : **DAVM**

" / " * " / " / " * " (Pl. I, 8)

" * / " " / " / " * "

" * / " " / " / " * "

" * / " * " / " / " * "

" / " " / " / " " (always combined with * stops in inner legend)

" * / " * " / " / " * "

" / " * " / " / " * " Trefoil stops.

The following variations are found in the inner legend:

(a) **QIVI** / * **TTS** / **UON** * / **DOR** * No eye.

" / " * / " * / " " "

" / " " / " * / " " "

(b) " * / " / eye " / " * Eye before **UON** (Pl. I, 8)

" / " * / " * / " * (Pl. I, 9)

(c) " / " * / " eye / " * Eye after **UON**

" * / " * / " " "

(d) **QIVI** / **TTS** eye / **LOR** / **DOR** * Eye after **TTS**

" / " / * " / " " "

" / " " / " * / " " "

" / " " / " * / " " "

" / " " / " * / " " "

" / " " / " * / " " "

" / " " / " * / " " "

" / " " / " * / " " "

" * / " / " * / " " "

" * / " / " * / " " "

" * / " / " * / " " "

" / " " / " " / " " "

(Pl. I, 10)

Type IV. I.M. Rose (obv. and rev.). Legends as in type I. An annulet in the field either side of the king's neck. An "eye" in the inner legend after **QIVITTS**. Stops (saltires) are generally absent on the obverse and appear always to be so on the reverse.

Obverses

- (i) Breast arch fleured; reading **ANGLI S RRTN**; no stops.
- (ii) " " normal reading; no stops.
- (iii) Breast arch not fleured; **ANGL S RRTN**; no stops.
- (iv) " " normal reading; no stops. (Pl. I, 12)
- (v) " " * after **EDWARD**; * after **RRTN**
- (vi) " " **RRTN'***

Reverses

- (i) Eye after **TTS**, no stops. (Pl. I, 12)

HEAVY HALF-GROATS

Type I. I.M. (obv. only) Cross Fleury or Plain Cross. Lis on breast arch of tressure. Pellet either side of crown. *Rev.* extra pellets in two quarters.

- (a) *Obv.* I.M. Cross Fleury **EDWARD** * **DI** * **GRN** * **RAX** **ANGL** * **S** * **RRTN**
Rev. No I.M. **POSVI** / **DEVM** * **T** / **DIVTOR** / **E** * **MEVM**; **QIVI** / **TTS**
UON / **DON** Extra pellet in **TTS** and **DON** quarters. Wt. 28.1 grs.
(F. A. Walters' Sale, 1913, lot 391.)

- (b) (i) *Obv.* I.M. Plain Cross **EDWARD** * **DI** * **GRN** * **RAX** **ANGL** * **S** **RRTN**
Rev. As (a). Wt. 29.2 grs. R.C.L. (Ex Roth Sale, 1917, lot 225).
(Pl. I, 13)

- (ii) *Obv.* As (b) (i).
Rev. No I.M. **POSVI** / **DEVM** * **T** / **DIVTOR** / **E** * **MEVM**; **QIVI** / **TTS** / **UON** / **DON** Extra pellet in **TTS** and **DON** quarters. Wt. 29 grs. B.M.

Type II. I.M. Rose both sides, Crescent on breast; quatrefoils by bust.

- (i) *Obv.* **EDWARD** **DI** * **GRN** * **RAX** * **ANGL** * **S** * **RRTN** *
Rev. **POSVI** * / **DEVM** * **T** / **DIVTOR** / **E** * **MEVM**; **QIVI** / **TTS** / **UON** / **DON** Wt. 29 grs. (Pl. II, 2) H.A.P.
- (ii) Same obverse die but no stops on reverse. Wt. 28 grs. L.A.L.

Mules III/II.

- (i) I.M. Rose both sides. Large fleur on breast; quatrefoils by bust.
Obv. **EDWARD** * **DI** * **GRN** * **RAX** * **ANGL** * **S** * **RRTN** *
Rev. Normal, no stops (no eye). (Pl. II, I) L.A.L.
- (ii) I.M. (obv. only) Rose. No quatrefoils by bust. No fleur or trefoil on breast.
Rev. No stops in either legend.
EDWARD **DI** * **GRN** **RAX** **ANGL** * **S** **RRTN**;
Rev. **POSVI** / **DEVM** * **T** / **DIVTOR** / **E** * **MEVM**; **QIVI** / **TTS** / **UON** / **DON** Wt. 26 grs. (Pl. II, 16) B.M.

Type III. I.M. Rose (obv. and rev.). Quatrefoils by neck, trefoil of pellets on breast. *Rev.* Eye after **QIVITTS**

- (i) **EDWARD** * **DI** **GRN** * **RAX** * **ANGL** * **S** * **RRTN** *
POSVI / **DEVM** * **T** / **DIVTOR** / **E** * **MEVM**; **QIVI** / * **TTS** *eye* / **UON** / * **DON** Wt. 27½ grs. Fitzwilliam Museum.; ex Montagu II, 607. (Pl. I, 14)
- (ii) **EDWARD** * **DI** * **GRN** * **RAX** * **ANGL** * **S** * **RRTN** Quatrefoils by neck; nothing on breast.
Rev. I.M. Rose. **POSVI** / **DEVM** * **T** / **DIVTOR** / **E** * **MEVM**; **QIVI** / **TTS** *eye* **UON** / **DON** Wt. 30 grs. (R. Carlyon-Britton Sale, lot 112.)

Type IV. I.M. Rose (obv. and rev.) Annulets by neck. Nothing on breast.

- (i) **EDWARD DI GRÆ REX ANGL S RRR**
POSVI / DEVM T / DIVTOR / E' MEVM ; CIVI / TTS : / UON / DON'
- (ii) **EDWARD' DI' GRÆ' REX ANGL S RRR**
POSVI &c. as (i) ; CIVI / TTS : / UON / DON Wt. 29½ grs.
- (iii) **EDWARD * DI' GRÆ' REX ANGL S RRR**
POSVI &c. as (i) ; CIVI / TTS / UON / DON (Pl. II, 17) R.C.L.
- (iv) Similar to (ii) but eye in lieu of saltires after **TTS** (Spink, *Num. Circular*, Nov. 1917).

HEAVY PENCE

LONDON

Type I. I.M. Plain Cross (obv. only).

Obv.

Rev.

- (b) (i) **EDWAR ꝛ REX o ANGL' S**
RRR Mascle after **RAX** Pellet
 either side of crown. Lis on neck.
CIVI / TTS / UON / DON
 Extra pellet in **CIVI** and **UON**
 quarters. (Pl. II, 4) B.M.
- (ii) Same obverse die.
CIVI / TTS / UON / DON
 Extra pellet in **TTS** and **DON**
 quarters.

Wt. 14½ grs., L.A.L. (Another specimen in Mr. Lockett's collection weighs 13½ grains.)

Mule II/I. I.M. Rose.

EDWARD · DI' · GRÆ · REX ·
ANGL · S · Quatrefoils by neck ;
 pellet stops.

Same die as (i) above. 12½ grs.

(Pl. II, 5) C.E.B.

Type II.

Same die as mule II/I.

CIVI / TTS / UON / DON ; Wt.
 13 grs. (Pl. II, 6) R.C.L.

Mule III/II.

I.M. Rose **EDWARD' * DI ***
GRÆ ꝛ REX * ANGL Quatrefoils
 by neck.

CIVI / TTS / UON / DON ; Wt.
 13 grs.

(Pl. II, 9) C.E.B.

Type III. I.M. Rose.

(i) Same die as Mule III/II

CIVI / TTS ^{eye} / UON / DON ;
 15 grs. (Pl. II, 10) R.C.L.

(ii) As (i), different bust.

CIVI / TTS / ^{eye} UON / DON ;
 8½ grs. (clipped). R.C.L.

Type IV. I.M. Rose.

EDWARD' * DI' GRÆ' REX
ANGL' Annulets by neck ; same
 obverse die as light penny of 11·6
 grains (Fitzwilliam, Pl. II, 8)

CIVI / TTS / UON / DON ;
 13 grs., (bare). (As far as can be
 seen, no eye.) (Pl. II, 7) R.C.L.

HEAVY HALFPENCE

*Obv.**Rev.**Type I(b).* I.M. Plain Cross

- (i) **EDWARD REX ANO** Lis on neck, pellets by crown.

QIVI / TTS / UON / DON; extra pellet in **QIVI** and **UON** quarters. (Pl. II, 11) B.M.; Fitzwilliam. C.E.B.

- (ii) As (i).

As (i) but extra pellet in **TTS** and **DON** quarters. B.M.

Types II and III. I.M. Rose (obv. only)

- II. **EDWARD : DI : GRAD : REX :**
⊗ ⊗ by bust.

QIVI / TTS / UON / DON
6.5 grs. R.C.L. *ex* Longbottom 192. (Pl. II, 12)

- II. **EDWARD DI GRAD REX**
⊗ ⊗ by bust. Pellet stops.

QIVI / TTS / UON / DON
6½ grs. Longbottom 193.

- II. **EDWARD DI GRAD REX :**
⊗ ⊗ by bust.

QIVI / TTS / UON / DON
6.8 grs. Longbottom 193 (*ill.*).

- II. **EDWARD DI GRAD REX T**
⊗ ⊗ by bust.

QIVI / TTS / UON / DON
8 grs. *Num. Chron.*, 1909, Pl. x, 10. B.M.

- II. **EDWARD DI GRAD RE**
* * by bust.

QIVI / TTS / UON / DON
6 grs. Longbottom 193.

- II. **EDWARD DI GRAD : REX :**
* * by bust.

QIVI / TTS / UON / DON
8 grs. R.C.-B. 112.

- III. **EDWARD DI GRAD REX**
Nothing by bust.

QIVI / TTS / UON / DON
7½ grs. *Num. Chron.*, 1909, p. 193 (i).

- III. **EDWARD REX ANGLIE**
Nothing by bust

QIVI / TTS / UON / DON
7 grs. C.E.B.; B.M. (Pl. II, 13)

- III. ? * * by bust.

/ **TTS** eye / 6.3 grs. Ready 476

Note: Halfpence with pellet stops can probably be associated with type II. Cf. Mule I/II pence with pellet stops and groat with pellet before **EDWARD**

Type IV. I.M. Rose.

EDWARD REX ANGLIE ○ ○ by neck

QIVI / TTS / UON / DON
7 grs. (Pl. II, 15) R.C.L.

" " **ANGLI** " "

QIVI / TTS / UON / DON
7 grs. *Num. Chron.*, 1909, Pl. x, 9. R.C.L.

EDWARD DI GRAD REX " "

QIVI / TTS / UON / DON
6½ grs. L.A.L. (Pl. II, 14)

HEAVY FARTHING

Type I(b). I.M. *Obv.* Plain Cross. Lis on neck. Pellet either side of crown. *Rev.* No I.M. Extra pellet in two quarters.

Obv. **EDWARD REX ANGLI**

Rev. **QIVI / TTS / UON / DON**; extra pellet in **TTS** and **UON** quarters.

- (1) B.M. 3 grs. (2) Fitzwilliam, *ex* Montagu, Wt. 3.6 grs. (Pl. II, 3)

These appear to be the only two known.

YORK PENCE

1461-4

Heavy Coinage. Archbishop William Booth (ob. 12 Sept. 1464). I.M. Rose; quatrefoils by bust; voided quatrefoil in centre of reverse; saltire stops. Normal legends: **EDWARD DI GRÆ REX ANGLI; CIVI / TKS EBO / RÆDI**

Note: The "eye" in the rev. legend, quoted by Brooke, *Brit. Num. Journ.* xxi. 73, is absent from all the specimens we have seen.

Type	Obv. legend	Rev. legend	Source and remarks
III. 1	* GRÆ'; * ANGLI	Normal	C.E.B.
2	* GRÆ'	"	C.A.W. 13.4 grs. (Pl. III, 15)
3	* DI; * ANGLI	EBO *	E.J.W. 14.3 grs.
4	? ANGLI'	Normal	L.A.L. Eye (?) 13.5 grs.; B.N.J. xxi, Pl. 1, 4.

1464-5

Light (?) Coinage.

Sede Vacante; September 1464 to June 1465.

Quatrefoils by bust but no quatrefoil on reverse.

Type	I.M.	By bust	Obv. legend	Source and remarks
V	Rose	✠ ✠	DI GRÆ REX ANGLI	No eye; <i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1909, Pl. x, 7; 13.5 grs.
VI	Sun	" "	Normal	Bootham Find; 10½ grs.; also C.E.B. and Hunterian Coll.

1465-70

Light Coinage. Archbishop George Neville.

(a) Local dies, with I.M. Cross or Rose, G and Key by bust; legend **EDWARD (DEI) REX ANGLIE**

(b) London-made dies, with I.M.s as London series of types VI to X (but Lis *vice* Crown); quatrefoils or trefoils by bust; legend **EDWARD DI GRÆ REX ANGLI**

Both (a) and (b) have quatrefoil on reverse; legend **CIVI / TKS / EBO / RÆDI**
The type of (a) being from local dies is conjectural.

Type	I.M.	By bust	Obv. legend	Source and remarks
[Local] 1	Rose	G Key	DEI REX ANGLI	B.N.J. xxi, Pl. 1, 5; local dies.
2	?	"	DEI REX ANGLI	Local dies.
3	Rose	"	EDWARD REX ANGLI	"
4	Cross	"	EDWARD REX ANGLI	" (Pl. III, 16)
VI. 1	Sun	"	* DI * GRÆ REX ANGLI	London dies from now on. (Pl. III, 18)
2	"	"	ANGLI	<i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1909, Pl. XII, 7.
VII. 1	Large Lis	"	ANGLI *	<i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1909, Pl. xv, 9; also Pl. III, 19
2	"	No marks	Normal	C.E.B. Quatrefoils by bust omitted. (Pl. III, 20)
3	"	✠ ✠	Normal	Sotheby, 30 Jan. 1900. One die has the I.M. overstruck with a Cross; see below, type XII.

Type	I.M.	By bust	Obv. legend	Source and remarks
VIII	Large Lis	∴ ∴	Normal	R.C.L. (Pl. III, 21)
X. 1	Small Lis	Ⓖ Key	DEI; ꝛꝛꝛ	One reads CIVI * (Pl. III, 22)
2	LCF	"	" ꝛꝛꝛ	I.M. = Long Cross Fitchy.

1470-1

Henry VI	Large Lis	Ⓖ Key	hENRIC DI; ꝛꝛꝛ	R.C.L. (Pl. III, 23) Also hERICV, hENRICV
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1471-2 (Second Reign)

Archbishop George Neville.

Ⓖ and Key by bust (the first coin has quatrefoils—an old die with I.M. Large Lis overstruck with a Short Cross Fitchy). Quatrefoil on reverse.

Type	I.M.	Legend	Source and remarks
XII. 1	SCF (over Lis)	ꝛꝛꝛ	L.A.L. See <i>B.N.J.</i> xxi, Pl. 1, 11.
2	SCF	DI or DEI; ꝛꝛꝛ	I.M. = Short Cross Fitchy.
3	"	DI; ꝛꝛꝛ	Bootham Find. Also ꝛꝛꝛ; some
4	"	* ꝛꝛꝛ	have B-like R (R5) on reverse.

1472-5

Sede Vacante (Neville suspended).Ⓖ and Key by bust; *no* quatrefoil on reverse.

(XIV) 5	SCF	ꝛꝛꝛ	E.J.W. Old obv. die of XII re-employed. (Pl. III, 24)
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No marks by bust, but quatrefoil on reverse.

XIV. 1	Small Annulet	ꝛꝛꝛ	L.A.L. <i>No</i> quatrefoil on rev.; a mule. <i>B.N.J.</i> xxi, Pl. 1, 9.
2	"	Same obv. die	R.C.L. <i>B.N.J.</i> xxi, Pl. 1, 10, with quatrefoil on reverse.

No marks by bust; quatrefoil on reverse.

XVI. 1	Cross over Annulet(?)	Normal (?)	<i>B.N.J.</i> xxi, p. 77, and Longbottom, 190.
2	Rose	"	E.J.W. (Pl. III, 27)

Ⓖ and Rose by bust; quatrefoil on reverse.

3	Rose	DI or DEI GRÆ; ꝛꝛꝛ or ꝛꝛꝛ	<i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1914, Pl. xxiv, 4. (Pl. III, 25)
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1475-6 (Second Reign)

Archbishop George Neville restored (ob. 8 June 1476).

Ⓖ and Rose by bust; quatrefoil on reverse.

Type	I.M.	Legends	Source and remarks
XVI. 4	Rose	Normal	E.J.W. (Pl. III, 26)
Ⓖ and Key by bust; quatrefoil on reverse.			
5	Rose (over Annulet)	Normal	C.E.B.
6	Rose	DEI or DI; ꝛꝛꝛ or ꝛꝛꝛ	<i>B.N.J.</i> xxi, Pl. 1, 13. (Pl. III, 17)

1476 (Second Reign)

Sede Vacante.

No marks by bust; rose on breast; quatrefoil on reverse

Type	I.M.	Legends	Source and remarks
?	Rose	Normal	R.C.L. <i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1909, Pl. XI, 6.

1476-80 (Second Reign)

Archbishop Lawrence Booth (ob. 19 May 1480).

B and Key by bust; quatrefoil on reverse.

Type	I.M.	Legends	Source and remarks
? I	Rose	Normal	C.E.B., E.J.W. Also DHI ; and ANGL'* or ANGL'*
XXI 1	Cinquefoil	Normal	Pl. III, 28
2	"	EDWARD' DI GRAN' REX ANGL'	Ashmolean Mus., piedfort; 117.8 grs.

1480 (Second Reign)

Sede Vacante

B and Key by bust, but no quatrefoil on reverse.

Type	I.M.	Legends	Source and remarks
(XXI.) 3	Rose	Normal	Also ANGL'* ; old obv. dies. (Pl. III, 29)

1480-3 (Second Reign)

Archbishop Thomas Rotherham.

T and Key by bust; quatrefoil on reverse; some have star on breast, others to right of crown also.

Type	I.M.	Legends	Source and remarks
XXI ? 4	Rose	DI GRAN' ANGL'	No stars. Also DHI (Pl. III, 30)
5	"	"	Star on breast; <i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1914, Pl. xxiv, 5.
6	"	" ?	C.A.W. Star on breast and to right of crown, <i>ex</i> Longbottom, 191.

COINS OF THE DURHAM MINT

1462-5

Mule Henry VI-Edward IV. *Obv.* **HEN*RIC* REX* ANGLI**, pellets by crown;
rev. **CIVI | TKS | DVN | OMN** (Pl. III, 1)

Heavy and Light coinage from local dies issued with


(a) I.M. Cross, nominally *heavy* coins, during the suspension of Lawrence Booth between 1462 and 1464.(b) I.M. Cross, nominally *light* coins, after the indenture of August 1464.

(c) I.M. Rose, coins otherwise similar to (b).

Note: (a) and (b), with I.M. Cross, are indistinguishable, and weigh when fine about 12 grains.

(a) and (b):

Obverse: stops, saltires, roses, pellets, or stars; some have pellet or pellets beside or over crown; **EDWARD REX ANGLIE**

- Variants: 1. **ANOS** 8. **EDWARD · R · · ·** 
 2. **· REX · ANGLI** 9. **EDWARD · REX · ANGLIE**
 3. **· · · ANGLI ·** 10. **Θ · · · REX · ANGLI**
 4. **· REX · ANGLIE ·** 11. **Θ · · · REX · ANGLIE**
 5. **· REX ·** 12. **Θ · · · REX · ANGLI**
 6. **· REX · ANGLIE ⊕** 13. **· · · REX · ANGLIE**
 7. **⊕ REX ⊕ ANGLIE** 14. **· · · REX · ANGLI**
 15. **EDWARD DI · REX ·**

Reverse: (i) no marks, (ii) rose in centre, (iii) rose in centre and extra pellet in one quarter. **DIVI / TWS / DON / OLI**

- Variants: 1. **DVN / OLIN** 5. **DON / OLI ⊕**
 2. **DVN / OLI** 6. **DIVI / TWS / DON / OLI**
 3. **DON / OLI'** 7. **DON / OLI**
 4. **· · / OLI ·**

(c), with I.M. Rose. Legends as on (a) and (b); reverse with a rose in centre and extra pellet in each quarter. [Brooke, *English Coins*, p. 157, Group (II).]

1465-70

Light Coinage. Bishop Lawrence Booth.

London-made dies. By bust, **B** and **D**, quatrefoil and **B** or **D**, later 2 quatrefoils, trefoils, or lis; at first **B**, later no marks on reverse; normal obv. legend: **EDWARD DI GRÆ REX ANGLI**

Type	I.M.	By bust	Obv. legend	Rev. legend	Source and remarks
V. 1	Rose	B D	Normal; some with saltire stops	DE · / RÆM	B on rev.; also DE · / RÆM
2	"	"	"	· DE · / RÆM	B on rev. (Pl. III, 2)
3	"	"	" ANOS	· DER / RÆM	" " R.C.L.
4	"	"	" ?	DER / RÆM	<i>English Coins</i> , p. 157, Group (II).
VI. 1	Sun	· · B	· REX · ANOS	DON / · · · LI ·	R.C.L., C.E.B. Local rev., no rose or pellet.
2	"	" "	Normal	DE / RÆM	B on rev., mule with V.
3	"	" "	· GRÆ REX · ANOS	DV · R / OLIN	(Pl. III, 3)
4	"	" "	· DI · GRÆ · REX · ANOS	" "	Bootham Find.
VII. 1	Crown	B · ·	ANOS	DE · / RÆM	<i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1909, p. 215.
2	"	D	"	" "	Also DE / RÆM (Pl. III, 4)
3	"	· · ·	Normal	DER / RÆM ·	L.A.L.
4	"	" "	"	DER / RÆM ·	Bootham Find.
5	"	" "	ANOS	DER / R · ·	R.C.L.; for DERRRÆM see Walters Sale, 1932, lot 326.
VIII. 1	Crown	· ·	ANOS	DER / R(RÆM)	R.C.L. (Pl. III, 5)
2	"	" "	"	DER / RÆM ·	Bootham Find.
3	"	⊕ ⊕	Normal.	DE · · / RÆM	(Pl. III, 6)

1471-3 (Second Reign)

Bishop Lawrence Booth. London-made dies. By bust, at first no marks (with none on reverse), later **B** and trefoil or two lis, both with **D** in centre of reverse. Obv. legend as before; rev. **DERſM**. The first coin is from a London obv. die with **Ē** struck over I.M.

Type	I.M.	By bust	Obv. legend	Rev. legend	In centre	Source and remarks
XII. 1	SCF	—	Normal	∴ DĒ ∴ / RſM	—	L.A.L. <i>ex</i> Evans 2328 (Pl. XIII, 15) ¹
2	"	—	ſNĠ	∴ DĒ ∴ / RſM	—	C.E.B. (Pl. III, 7)
3	"	—	"	∴ DĒ / "	—	R.C.L. R5 on rev.
XIII. 1	Trefoil	—	"	" "	—	Bootham Find; R5 on rev.
2	"	—	"	DĒ ∴ / "	—	Bootham Find; R5 on rev.
3	"	B ∴	ſNĠ ×	DER / ſM ×	D	C.A.W.; also Bootham Find.
XIV. 1	Rose	B ∴	DEI' GRſ' RĒX × ſNĠ	× DER / ſ ...	D	<i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1909, Pl. xv, 8.
2	"	"	DEI	DER / ſM ×	D	Also DER / ſM ∴
XVa.	⊙	B ∴	DEI, ſNĠ	DĒ / RſM ∴	D	C.A.W. (Pl. III, 8)
XVb. 1	Rose	✠ ✠	DI "	DER / RſM	D	R.C.L.
2	"	"	" "	DĒ ∴ / RſM	D	E.J.W. (Pl. III, 9)

1473-6 (Second Reign)

Bishop Lawrence Booth. Local dies, including halfpence.

Type conjectural.

(a) With episcopal letters on obverse (**B** to l. of crown, **V** on breast).

(b) Without " " "

(a) I.M. Pansy. Obverse: **B** to l. of crown, **V** on breast; by bust, at first no marks, later crosses; legend as before, but **DEI**

Reverse: **D** in centre, **V** in **QIVI** quarter, extra pellet in each quarter; **DVRO** / **LMIE**

Note: The first two coins are mules with London-made rev. dies of previous issue.

	Obv. legend	By bust	Rev. legend	Source and remarks
1	(Illegible)	—	DERſM	Baldwin. Mule with earlier rev.
2	... WſRD DĒ ...	—	/ ſM ×	C.E.B. " "
3	ſN ×	—	DVRO / LMIE	<i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1914, Pl. xxiv, 9.
4	ſN ×	× ×	QIVI ∴	C.E.B. Pellet in rev. legend. ¹
5	DEI · GRſ' RĒX ſN ∴	"	/ ſM ∴ /	R.C.L. Pellet before GRſ ; one has pellet after RĒX (Baldwin).
6	× DEI GRſ RĒX ∴ ſNĠ ∴; ſNĠ ∴	"	/ ſM ∴ /	C.A.W. (Pl. III, 10)
7	· DEI · GRſ · RĒX ∴ ſN ∴	"	Normal	Baldwin.

(b) I.M. Rose. Obverse: **B** and **V** omitted; crosses usually over crown, sometimes on breast also; legend **DI GRſ**

Reverse: **D** in centre, extra pellet in one quarter (with obv. having cross on breast ?) or in all quarters (with obv. without cross on breast ?); **V** sometimes in **QIVI** quarter; **DVRO** / **LMIE**

¹ To appear in a later article.

	<i>Obv. legend</i>	<i>On breast</i>	<i>Over crown</i>	<i>Pellets</i>	<i>V under</i>	<i>Source and remarks</i>
1	(Illegible)	*	* *	LMIE	—	
2	.. DWTRD DI GR... * TN...	*	* *	DVRO	—	
3	• TNQ	*	* *	QIVI	—	C.E.B. Pellet stop on obv.
4	* DI * GR * REX * TNQ	—	* *	All	QIVI	R.C.L. <i>ex</i> Webb and Thorburn.
5	* DI * ; TNGL	—	* *	"	"	E.J.W. (Pl. III, 12)
6	* DI *	—	* *	"	"	
7	TNGL	—	* *	"	"	
8	EDWTRD DI * GR REX	—	* *	"	"	

Halfpence. I.M. Rose. *Obv.* legend uncertain; *rev.* D in centre.

	<i>Obv. legend</i>	<i>By crown</i>	<i>By bust</i>	<i>Rev. legend</i>	<i>Source and remarks</i>
1	?	?	V —	?	R.C.L. <i>ex</i> Longbottom 201. (Pl. III, 11) (possibly Dudley)
2	?	—	—	DE * / RTN	<i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1914, Pl. XXIV, 11. No marks in field. ¹

1476 (Second Reign)

Sede Vacante, between translation of Lawrence Booth to York, June 1476, and appointment of William Dudley, October 1476.

Local dies. I.M. Rose. No marks by bust. D on reverse.

Type conjectural.

<i>I.M.</i>	<i>By bust</i>	<i>Obv. legend</i>	<i>Rev. legend</i>	<i>In centre</i>	<i>Source and remarks</i>
Rose	—	EDWTRD DI GR REX TNGL	DVRO / LMIE	D	Mule with <i>rev.</i> of previous issue with extra pellets; C.A.W. (Pl. III, 13)

1476-83 (Second Reign)

Bishop William Dudley. Type conjectural, local dies. *Obverse*, small D and V or V only by bust; DEI; TNQ. *Reverse*, D usually in centre. DVROLMIE

I.M., with V only, Rose, with D and V, Cinquefoil (Type XXI).

	<i>Obv. legend</i>	<i>By bust</i>	<i>Rev. legend</i>	<i>In centre</i>	<i>Source and remarks</i>
1	.. DWTRD DEI GR REX TN...	— V	Normal (?)	D	R.C.L. Also TNQ
2	Uncertain	— V	??	D	Extra pellet in each quarter. Seaby, Oct. 1938 (mule?).
3	... EI	D V	IVI / ..S / .RO / U..	D	E.J.W. Also no D on <i>rev.</i>
4	DI GR, TNGL	D V	Normal	D	C.A.W. (Pl. III, 14)
5	EDW U	D V	?	—	Extra pellet in each quarter (Mule?). Also TN C.E.B.

¹ Described by Brooke, *English Coins*, p. 160, as perhaps having B and trefoil by bust; such marks seem absent from the coin at the British Museum.

Exchequer K.R. Memoranda Roll 244, 6 Edward IV

Adhuc Communia de termino sancti Michaelis anno sexto Regis [m. 45] Edwardi quarti.

Adhuc Recorda.

Memorandum quod Henricus Chevele unus clericorum Thome Colt unius camerariorum ad Receptam hujus Scaccarii exhibuit Curie hic quandam partem Anglia.

Indenture inter dominum Regem et Willelmum Dominum de Hastynges Camerarium suum confecte cujus tenor sequitur in hec verba:

This Endenture made betwene our souaigne lord Edward by the grace of god Kyng of England and of ffraunce & lord of Irland of that oon ptie and William lord Hastynges his Chambleyn on that othir partie Witnessith that our seid souaigne lord the Kyng by his tres patente3 hath made and ordeigned the seid lord Hastynges maist and Werker of his moneys of gold and Sylver and Wardeyn of all mañ his eschaunge and oute Chaunge within his Towre of Londoñ his Reaume of England and his Towne of Caleys the which lord Hastynges hath vndertake afore ou^r seid souaigne lord

the Kyng to make the same moneys vndre the pell and forme that foloweth that is to sey to make v mañ moneys of gold oon the pece therof rennyng for x s. sterlynge which shalbe called the Newe noble of gold and there shalbe xlv such peces in the lb of the Weight of the Towre aforeseid and an othir money of gold weyng the halfe

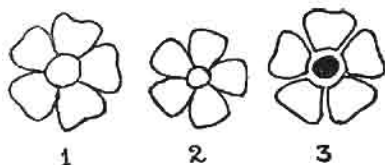
of the money aforeseid rennyng the pece for v. s. of Sterlynge & ther shalbe ^{xx}iiij. x such peces in the lb Weight of the Toure aforeseid and an othir the iij^{de} monye of gold weyng the iijth parte of the seid first money rennyng the pece for ij s. vj d.

st^glynges and ther shalbe c. ^{xx}iiij such peces in the lb of the same Toure and oñ this the seid maist hath vndertake to make two othir moneyes of gold oon pece therof hauyng on that oon syde an ymage of an Angell enprented rennyng for vj. s. viij d st^glynge which shalbe called an Angell and ther shalbe lxxvj such pecys and an half in a lb weight of the Towre aforeseid and an othir mony of gold hauyng also on that oon syde an ymage of an Angell emprented weyng half the seid money callyd an angell rennyng for iij s. iij d. st^glynge which shalbe called an Angelet And there shalbe cxxv such pecys in the lb. weight of the Towre forseid. And eu^y pounde weight of the seid Towre of the seid moneys shalbe worth xxij li x s. of st^glynge of all the peces aforeseid The whеч shalbe of xxij Caract^e iij Greynes & dj of fyne gold of the which monyes of gold ou^r seid souaigne lord the Kyng shale haue of eu^y lb weight xx s. x d. st^glinges of the which the Wardeyn of the mynte Countroller Grauer of Irons and Clerk of the coignes and Eschaunges shall haue their fees and Wages by the handes of the same Wardeigne of the mynte and the seid maister shall haue and take for his werkyng and coignyng lacke wast wages of the monyours and aft othir mañ expenses and costes by hym to be made ij. s. iij. d. that is to sey for hym silf xij d. for lakk x. d. and the seid monyours for their wages and waste vj. d. of eu^y lb weight and so shall thañ remaigne to the fr̄chaunt of eu^y such lb weight of gold xxj li. ix s. ij. d. by nombre and in case that the same fr̄chaunt will not abyde the coignyng but desire to be aunswered sone and spedd furthwith at the Kynges Chaunge thañ ou^r souaigne the Kyng shal haue of eu^y lb weight of such coigned gold xxij s. xj d. by nombre of which the seid Wardeyn Countroller Grauer of the Irons Clerk and maist^r of the moneys shall haue and tak as is aboueseid and so thañ their shal remaigne to the fr̄chaunt of eu^y such lb Weight of gold xxj li. vij s. jd. and the seid maist^r shall make of the seid moneys of gold that is to sey of eu^y lb weight of golde c^otain vnces in nobles c^otain vnces in half nobles c^otein vnces in ferthinges of gold c^otain vnces in Aungells & c^otain vnces in Angelette aft^r as he thervpon shalbe required by the Countroller and Chaungeour which in this part shale haue consideracioñ to the desire ease and contentacioñ of the people and by cause the seid moneys of gold may not contynuelly be made accordyng in all thynges to his Ryght standard but perauenture in defeaute of the

maist⁹ or the Werkers it shale be founde somtyme to stronge or to feble be more or lasse in weight or in allaie or in that oon or in that othir our soūaigne lord the Kyng wolleth that whān the seid monye so founde at the assaie afore the delyūaunce therof to stronge or to feble all oonly in the weight or all oonly in the allay or in that oon or in that othir as is abouseid by the viijth part of a Caract in the lb weight of gold and nomore ouer the which viij parte in that oon and viij part in that othir shalbe called remedye for the maist the monye shalbe delyūd for gode whān the seid defaute shall happen casuelly and othirwyse not but if defaute be founde in the same monye in allaye or in weight or in that oon or in that othir ou the viij parte of a Caracte which is called remedye as is abouseid than cesse the delyūaunce and the monye to be chalenged and iuged by the assaiour lasse than good and newe molton and reformed at the coste of the seid maist⁹ tyll it be put to poynt And also the seid maist hath vndertak to make v mañ of monyes of sylū of eūych of which v mañ of monyes of sylū shall entre in the lb weight of the Towre xxxvij s. vj d. of st⁹lynges that is to sey oon the pece rennyng for iiij d. of st⁹lynge which shalbe called a grote and there shalbe cxij such pecys & an half in the lb weight of the Towre and an othir monye the pece rennyng for ij d. which shalbe called half a groṣ and there shalbe ccxv. such pecys in the lb weight abouseid and the thirde for a j d which is called a st⁹lynge and there shalbe cccc.l. such pecys in the lb weight abouseid and the fourth monye which shalbe called half a peny which shalbe worth half a sterlyng and ther shalbe ix such pecys in the lb weight abouseid and the vth monye shalbe called a ferthyng the which shalbe worth half the seid half peny & their [1. 45d.] shalbe mⁱ viij^c such pecys in the lb weight abouseid And all the seid moneys so made shalbe of the allaie of the standard of the olde st⁹lyng that is to sey eūy lb of syluer of thies moneys of Weight shall holde xj vnces & ij d of sterlynge of weight of fyne syluer and xvij. peny weight of allaye eūy peny conteignyng xxiiij. greynes of which monyes of syluer our seid soūaigne lord the Kyng shale haue of eūy lb so made iiij s. vj d. by nombre and therof the seid maist shale haue of eūy lb weight of the Toure for his werkyng conteignyng scales lake wast wages of the moneyours and all othir mañ expenses and costes by hym made xiiij d by nombre oonly and therof shalbe payed by the handis of the wardeyn of the mynte ou the Wages of the Wardeyn Grauer of the Irons and othir officerz aforeseid and so their shale remaine toward the marchaunt of eūy lb weight of the Toure of fyne sylū and clene accordyng to the Standard xxxiiij s and by cause that the seid moneys of sylū may not contynuelly be made accordyng in all thynges to the Ryght standard in asmuch as somtyme in defaute of the seid maist⁹ or of the Werkers it may be made to stronge or to feble by more or lesse in weight or in allaie or in that oon or that othir our soūaigne lord the Kyng willeth that whān the seid moneys of sylū vppoñ thassaye afore the delyūaunce be founde to stronge or to feble all oonly in the weight or all oonly in the allaye or in that oon or in that othir by ij d in weight of lb and no more ou the which ij d weight in that oon and ij d weight in that othir shalbe called remedye for the maist⁹ such monye shalbe delyūd for good wanne the seid faute shale happen casuelly and othirwyse not for this remedie is not ordeyned to make the monyes more feble but that the maist⁹ shale make theym lawfully withoute male engyne And in case at somtyme and not Comynly by symplenesse with out malice they make theim more feble than they haue the same remedye but if defaute be founde in the same monye vpon the seid assayes in weight or in alaie or in thañ [sic] oon or in that othir ou the ij d weight as is abouseid than cesse the delyūaunce and the mony be chalenged and iuged by thassiour lasse than good and at the costes of the seid maist⁹ be newe molton and reformed tyll it be putt to poynt. And the seid maist shall make of the seid .v. mañ of moneys of sylū abouseid that is to sey of eūy lb of syluer cteyn vnces in Grotez cteyn vnces in half grotes cteyn vnces in penys cteyn vnces in half penyes and cteyn vnces in ferthyng aft⁹ as he ther vpon shalbe required to do by the Countroller and Chaungeour which in this partie shale haue consideracioñ to the desire ease and contentacioñ of the people and the seid Wardeyn of the mynte chaungeour assaiour and Countroller of the Kyng shale tak hed and oūsee the seid monyes of gold and sylū at all tymes as belongeth to their offices so that as soñ as any of the seid moneys shalbe coigned or accomplished by the seid wardeyn of the moneys

and the maist^r they shall putt theym in aⁿ huche or cofe^r closed with ij Keys of the which oon^e shale remaine toward^e the same Wardeyn^e and the othe^r towardes the seid maist^r vnto the delyu^aunce of the seid moneys And aft^r that the seid moneys of gold and syluer been assaied and p^ued for good in the maⁿ as is aforeseid there shalbe before eny delyu^aunce a c^oteyn price of all the hole so^me of gold and sylu^u wysely made to be putte in a bo^x wherof the assaies shalbe made at Westmynstre that is to sey of eu^y x lb by weight of gold to the value of a noble of gold which shalbe takeⁿ se^eually in and of eu^y sort of the moneys of gold aboue wryteⁿ and also to be take of eu^y c lb weight of sylu^u ij s. by accompt which shale be takeⁿ se^eually in and of eu^y sorte of the seid moneys of syluer of which moneys so takeⁿ the maist^r shalbe allowed in his accompt by the seid Wardeyn^e of the moneys And whanⁿ the seid prices of gold and syluer be made and put in a bo^x for to make the assaies at Westmynstre as is aboue-seid they shalbe ensealed with the seale of the forseid Wardeyn^e of the monyes and with the seale of the maist^r and Countroller and the seid bo^x be shute with iij keyes wherof oo [sic] Key shale abyde toward the Wardeyn^e and the second toward the maist^r and the thir^d toward the Countroller and the which Bo^x so shutte shalbe put in a cofre for sauf Kepyng therof and it shall be opened eu^y iij monethes ones vpoⁿ resonable warnyng therupoⁿ to be made afore so^me lordes of the Counsaill of our so^uaigne lord the Kyng^e therto assigned and in the p^{re}sence of the seid Wardeyn^e of the monyes and the maist^r there shalbe made assaie of the seid moneys of gold and syluer founde in the seid Bo^x aft^r the most iuste maⁿ as they shale seme to be made by fyre or by touche or by that oon^e or by that othir to that ende that if the seid moneys of gold and syluer be founde and p^ued good and conuenable aft^r the couenaunce aforeseid the seid maist^r to be quite and excused ayenst ou^r so^uaigne lord the Kyng^e and all othir vnto that tyme and theropoⁿ the seid maist^r shale haue at his wyll tres patent^{es} vnd^r the Kyng^e grete seale without fee therof payng specifieng the seid assaie to be founde such as is aforeseid and if [m. 45a.] the seid monyes of golde and syluer by the seid assaies which shale be thus made at Westmⁿ be founde in weight or allaie or in that oon^e or in that othir more feble thaⁿ their right standard by more or lasse vnto the remedies aforeseid and nomore ou^r thaⁿ be that same faut enterd of Record and the seid maist^r charged therefore to make agrement with ou^r so^uaigne lord the Kyng^e aboueseid Sauyng alwey that in case that by the seid assaies the seid moneys of gold and Syluer be founde at eny tyme passyng the estandard aboueseid in goodenesse in the weight or in the allaie or in that oon^e or in that othir thaⁿ by force of the seid remedie the seid goodenesse be entred of Record and holde place to the seid maister in the charge which he shale haue whanⁿ eny defaute shalbe founde in the seid monyes by the assaye at Westmⁿ aboueseid and if it happen^e that the seid moneys of gold and syluer vpoⁿ eny of the iuste assaies that shalbe made at Westmⁿ of the aboueseid bo^x in maⁿ aboueseid be eny tyme foundeⁿ in Weight or in allaie in defaute passyng the remedies ordeyned for the seid maist^r as is aboueseid the seid maist^r shale make fyne and raunsom to ou^r so^uaigne lord the Kyng^e at his wyll and he the seid maist^r holdeⁿ at his peryll to make a priue mark in all the moneys that he shall wyrk aswele of gold as of syluer so that an othir tyme if nede be he may knowe or wille which moneys of gold and syluer among othir of the same moneys been of his oweⁿ wyrkyn^g and which not also that the seid maist^r as oft tymes as nede shalbe shale mowe take and receyue such and as many gravers for to graue for the Irons at the Kyng^e cost^e as the seid maist^r shale seme behouefull Provided alwey that whanⁿ the seid Irons be graueⁿ that they be delyued in p^{re}sence of the seid Wardeyn^e of the moneys by endenture to hym which therto is or shalbe ordeyned by ou^r so^uaigne lord the Kyng^e to haue the kepyng of the seid Irons as it appteigny^d and that the same Graue^r of the Irons aforeseid shale not graue ells where but oonly in aⁿ house withiⁿ the Towre to hym by the Wardeyn^e and maist^r to be assigned and the seid maist^r and Wardeyn^e of the eschaunges holdeⁿ to resceiue all maⁿ gold and syluer brought to the Toure and eschaunges aft^r the verray value that is to sey eu^y pcell in his degree oon^e to the more aⁿ othir to the lesse aft^r the qualite and if the seid maist^r and Wardeyn^e of eschaunge and m^uchaunt which bringeth his gold and syluer may not accorde betwene hem of the verray value that thaⁿ the Kyng^e assaiours to that deputed in the p^{re}sence of the seid Wardeyn^e of the moneys

and maist⁹ owe to trie the trouth in that ptie and aft⁹ that it is founden vpon ij assaies mad the oon by the seid maist and that othir by the seid assaiours the seid maist shale take it and stande charged in the man as belongeth And our seid souaigne lord the Kyng woll that at his costez ij good stones called touches and also nedles of goold leefull be ordeigned to the vse of the same our souaigne lorde the Kyng for to make assaie of the gold of the caracte betwene the m^{ch}chaunte and the seid maist⁹ and Wardeyn of thes chaunge and that abyde in the keypyng of the seid Wardeyn of the moneys and maist⁹ and that the balances and Weighte be alwey amended and put to poynt frome tyme to tyme as oft as it shalbe nedefull so that noo defeaute may be founde in theym to hurte the people and by the seid maist⁹ and Wardeyn of thes chaunges holdeñ vpon the receit of gold and syluer to delyue bylles to the marchaunte of the somez that they shale bryng thidre with the somes which they owe to receyue at the delyuances so that the seid m^{ch}chaunte or ther attorneys shewyng the seid billes may be repaied at the delyuance as it apperteigneth and the seid m^{ch}chaunte so bringyng gold and syluer to the Toure shale haue free entre and issue without disturbance of the porters or of eny othir & withoute eny thyng to eny of hem for to haue free entre and issue ayenst the free wyll and gree of the m^{ch}chaunte aboueseid and that delyuance be made of gold and syluer ones in the weke or ij. tymes or moo tymes at the will of the seid maist⁹ And aft⁹ the assaie made afore the delyuance of the seid moneys the seid maist⁹ and Wardeyn of thes chaunges shale consid⁹e the qualite of the somes resceyued And the nombre of the psones to which he shale make delyuance so that in case the seid some which is wrought may not suffice to mak plenar and full payement to all thanne be the some of delyuance amesured in comune so that eu^y [*m. 45a. dorse*] m^{ch}chaunt may tak parte of his paiement aff the quantite of his some consideracioñ had to the tyme whan eu^y m^{ch}chaunt bryngith his gold and syluer and to the tyme whan his gold and syluer was moltoñ and by the seid maist⁹ and Wardeyn of eschaunges holdeñ to shewe vpon the delyuance of eu^y m^{ch}chaunt his some whan he thervpon shalbe by hym required And thervpon the seid Wardeigne of moneys shale take towarde hym all the p^{te}te which appteignith to the Kyng And therefore make Accompt⁹ as it apperith aboue and the seid maist⁹ as maist⁹ of moneys shale not be holdeñ to yeve accompt to our souaigne lord the Kyng but oonly to the Wardeyn of moneys as the man is ontake the damages which shalbe accompted vpon hym for the defeaute which shale mowe be founde vpon the moneys of gold and syl^u by the assaies at Westmynste^r by wey of remedies aboueseid Wherof he shale answe^re to our souaigne lord the Kyng as is aforeseid And our seid souaigne lorde the Kyng confermyth by thies endenturs to the seid maist⁹ and ministers Workers of money and all othir officers of hys myntes the chartres tres patentez and fraunchises afore graunted to the monyours aft⁹ theffecte tenour and purport of the same Chart⁹s Provided alwey that the seid monyours shalbe redy to do their werk that to theym belongeth at all tymes whan they shale therto duly be warned by the seid maist⁹ or his deputees vpon peyne of lesyng of their fraunchise and their bodyes to prysoñ And that all the gold and syluer that the same maist⁹ and Wardeyn of the eschaunges or his deputees shall delyue to the seid monyours for to be coigned as is aforeseid shalbe in clene Ingotte and delyued be weight And the seid monyours shall make it and coigne it and than delyu it ayen to the seid maist⁹ or to his depute by the same weight and if eny thyng lak of the seid weight at any tyme of delyue they shale content and paie the seid maist⁹ or his deputees for the same at eu^y delyuance at the balance And that so doon the seid maist⁹ shale paye hem theyr wages aft⁹ the rate of the lb and also the seid maist⁹ and Wardeigne of thes chaunge shale holde and kepe the Kynges Eschaunge in open places and high stretes by hym or his sufficient deputees for whom he wol answe^re and pay to the people all that that to hym of ryght appteigneth for such eschaunge goode and trewe money of Englande and of such weight and allaie as is aforeseid by weight or be nombre at the eleccioñ of hym which shale receyve it frome tyme to tyme withoute eny man delaye or diffyculte and if it happe in eny of the seid moneys so to be payed eny false money to be founde in weight or in allaie at thes chaunge aboueseid which god defende that it shalbe leefull to eu^y pson that shale fynde such defeaute afore he



1

2

3



4

TYPES I - VII
AND
XVIII - XXII



5

V AND
VII - XV
HEN. VI

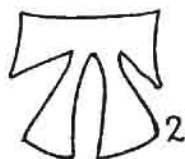


6

XV - XVIII



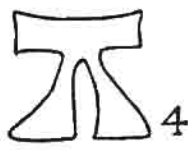
TYPE I



I



XI - XIII
HEN. VI



XIV



II



Vb - Vc



Vd - XVIII
HEN. VI



III



III, IV, Ve



Vd, Vi



Vd VI



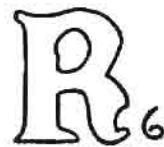
Vd VI



VII - IX



IX (REV) - XVIII
HEN. VI



XVIII - XXII



XXI



VIII - XI
HEN. VI



X - XII
HEN. VI



XIV - XVIII



"POTHOOK" V & A
XVIII - XXI



XV - XVIII

HALF-GROATS & GOLD



XVIII - XXI

passee the place of the seid eschaunge to refuse that which is defectif and refusable and therupoñ the seid maist⁹ and Wardeigne of theschaunge shalbe holdeñ to pay and delyue sufficiaunt moneye for the same withoute daunger or delaie and for more suretee of the couenant^e aboueseid well and trewly to be holdeñ and p^ourmed on the partie of the seid maist⁹ and wardeigne of theschaunge and that he shale bere hym towarde ou^r soūaigne lorde the Kyng and his people in the same office; well and couenable and that he shale make gree to the Kyng the seid maist⁹ hath made bodely othe afore ou^r soūaigne lorde the Kyng in his Chauncy and byndith hym his heires and his executours to the same ou^r soūaigne lorde the Kyng by theis p^osentes And also for more suretee to make gree to the m^ochaunt^e of the price of gold and syluer which he shale receyue by mañ as his aboueseid as longe as he shalbe in the seid office the forseid maist⁹ hath founde Borowes afore ou^r soūaigne lorde the Kyng in his Chauncye that is to sey Rauf Hastyng^e of Kerby in the countie of Leycestre Squier Auerey Corneburgh Squier William Stephens of Londoñ Gentyлмаñ Edmund^e Shawe Robt Hill Goldsmythes Robt Broune Iremonger And Hugh Bryce Goldsmyth Cittezens of Londoñ which haue vnd^otake for the seid maist⁹ that is to sey eu^och of theym vpoñ payne of c. li that he shale make gree to the m^ochunt^e aboueseid of the price of golde and of syluer which he shale receyue as is abouewryteñ the which some of c. li. eu^oych of the seid borowes by hym self hath granted to be leueyed of their londes tenement^e goodes and Catelles to the vse of ou^r seid soūaigne lorde the Kyng in Caas it be p^oued that the seid maist⁹ doo the contrarie hereaft⁹ In wytnesse of which thyng to the oon^o partie of thees endenturs remainyng towarde the forseid maist⁹ ou^r soūaigne lorde the Kyng hath doo putte his grete seale and to that othir partie of thees endenturs remainyng towarde ou^r seid soūaigne lorde the Kyng the seid maist⁹ hath sette his seale Yeven the vjth day of march the yere of the reigne of ou^r seid soūaigne lorde the vth.

KEY TO THE PLATES (I-III)

R. C. L.; R. C. Lockett, Esq.; E. J. W.; E. J. Winstanley, Esq.; L. A. L.; L. A. Lawrence, Esq.; H. A. P.; H. A. Parsons, Esq.; E. C. C.; E. C. Carter, Esq.; C. E. B.; C. E. Blunt, Esq.; C. A. W.; C. A. Whitton, Esq.

Where the provenance is not given the coin is in the collection of one of the writers.

PLATE I

1. Heavy groat, type I, I.M.s Cross Fleury/Lis; lis on neck; E. J. W.
2. " " " " Plain Cross both sides, lis on neck, mascle in legend.
3. " " " " Plain Cross/Lis; lis on neck, E. J. W.
4. " " " " Plain Cross both sides; lis on breast.
5. " " " " Plain Cross/Lis; lis on breast; no pellets by crown.
6. " " mule I/II, I.M.s Cross Fleury/Rose; lis on neck; E. J. W.
7. " " " " Plain Cross/Rose; lis on neck; E. J. W.
8. " " " II/III " Rose both sides; ❖❖ by bust, crescent on breast; Eye before **UOR**; R. C. L.
9. " " type III, I.M. Rose both sides; ❖❖ by bust, trefoil on breast; Eye before **UOR**; R. C. L.
10. " " " " Rose both sides; no quatrefoils by bust.
11. " " " " " " ❖❖ by bust; Baldwin.
12. " " type IV, " " " " o o by bust.
13. " half-groat, type I, I.M. Plain Cross on obverse; lis on breast; R. C. L.
14. " " type III, I.M. Rose both sides; ❖❖ by bust, trefoil on breast; Fitzwilliam Museum.

PLATE II

1. Heavy half-groat, mule III/II, I.M. Rose; ❖❖ by bust, fleur on breast; L. A. L.
2. " " type II, I.M. Rose; ❖❖ by bust, crescent on breast; H. A. P.
3. " farthing, type I, I.M. Plain Cross, lis on neck, pellets by crown; Fitzwilliam Museum.

4. Heavy penny, type I, I.M. Plain Cross, lis on neck, pellets by crown; same rev. die as no. 5; B.M.
5. " " mule II/I, I.M. Rose; ✠ ✠ by bust; same rev. die as no. 4; same obv. die as no. 6; C. E. B.
6. " " type II, same obv. die as no. 5; R. C. L.
7. " " type IV, I.M. Rose, ○ ○ by bust; same obv. die as no. 8; R. C. L.
8. Light penny from same obv. die as no. 7; Fitzwilliam Museum.
9. Heavy penny, mule III/II, I.M. Rose, ✠ ✠ by bust; same obv. die as no. 10; C. E. B.
10. " " type III, same obv. die as no. 9; Eye after **TTS**; R. C. L.
11. " halfpenny, type I, I.M. Plain Cross, lis on neck, pellets by crown. B.M.
12. " " type II (?), I.M. Rose, ✠ ✠ by bust, pellet stops; R. C. L.
13. " " type III, I.M. Rose, no marks by bust; B.M.
14. " " type IV, I.M. Rose, ○ ○ by bust, **DI GRN**; L. A. L.
15. " " " " " " **EDWARD REX**
ANGLIE; R. C. L.
16. " half-groat, mule III/II, I. M. Rose, no marks by bust; B.M.
17. " " type IV, " " ○ ○ by bust; R. C. L.
18. " noble (1461-4), type I, I.M. Lis, lis by shield, pellets by crown; B.M.
19. " " " " " " " " one pellet by crown; R. C. L.
20. Light " (1464-5), type V, I.M.s Rose/Lis; ✠ by sword arm; B.M.

PLATE III

1. Durham heavy penny, obv. of Henry VI, pellets by crown, **DVNOLIN**.
2. " light " L. Booth, 1465-70, type V, I.M. Rose, **B** and **D** by bust, **B** on reverse, **DERRM**.
3. " " " " " type VI, I.M. Sun, ✠ and **B** by bust, **DVNOLIN**.
4. " " " " " type VII, I.M. Crown, **D** and ✠ by bust, **DERRM**.
5. " " " " " type VIII, I.M. Crown, ✠ ✠ by bust, **DERRM**; R. C. L.
6. " " " " " type VIII, I.M. Crown, 2 lis by bust, **DERRM**.
7. " " " " 1471-3, type XII, I.M. Short Cross Fitchy, no marks by bust, **R** in **DERRM**.
8. " " " " " type XVa, I.M. ☉, **B** and ✠ by bust, **D** in centre of reverse, **DERRM**.
9. " " " " " type XVb, I.M. Rose, 2 lis by bust, **D** in centre of reverse, **DERRM**; E. J. W.
10. " " " " 1473-6, local dies, I.M. Pansy (?) **B** by crown, **V** on breast; **D** in centre of reverse, **DVNOLMIE**.
11. " " halfpenny " " local dies, I.M. Rose (?) **V** by neck, **D** in centre of reverse; R. C. L.
12. " " penny " " local dies, I.M. Rose, ✠ ✠ over crown, **D** in centre of reverse, **DVNOLMIE**.
13. " " " *Sede vacante*, 1476, I.M. Rose, no marks by bust, **D** in centre of reverse, **DVNOLMIE**.
14. " " " W. Dudley, 1476-83, I.M. Cinquefoil, **D** and **V** by bust, **D** in centre of reverse, **DVNOLMIE**.
15. York heavy penny, W. Booth, 1461-4, type III, I.M. Rose, ✠ ✠ by bust.
16. " light " G. Neville, local dies, I.M. Cross, ☉ and Key by bust; E. J. W.
17. " " " " 1475-6 (second reign), I.M. Rose, ☉ and Key by bust (*this coin should appear later on the plate*).
18. " " " " 1465-70, I.M. Sun, ☉ and Key by bust.



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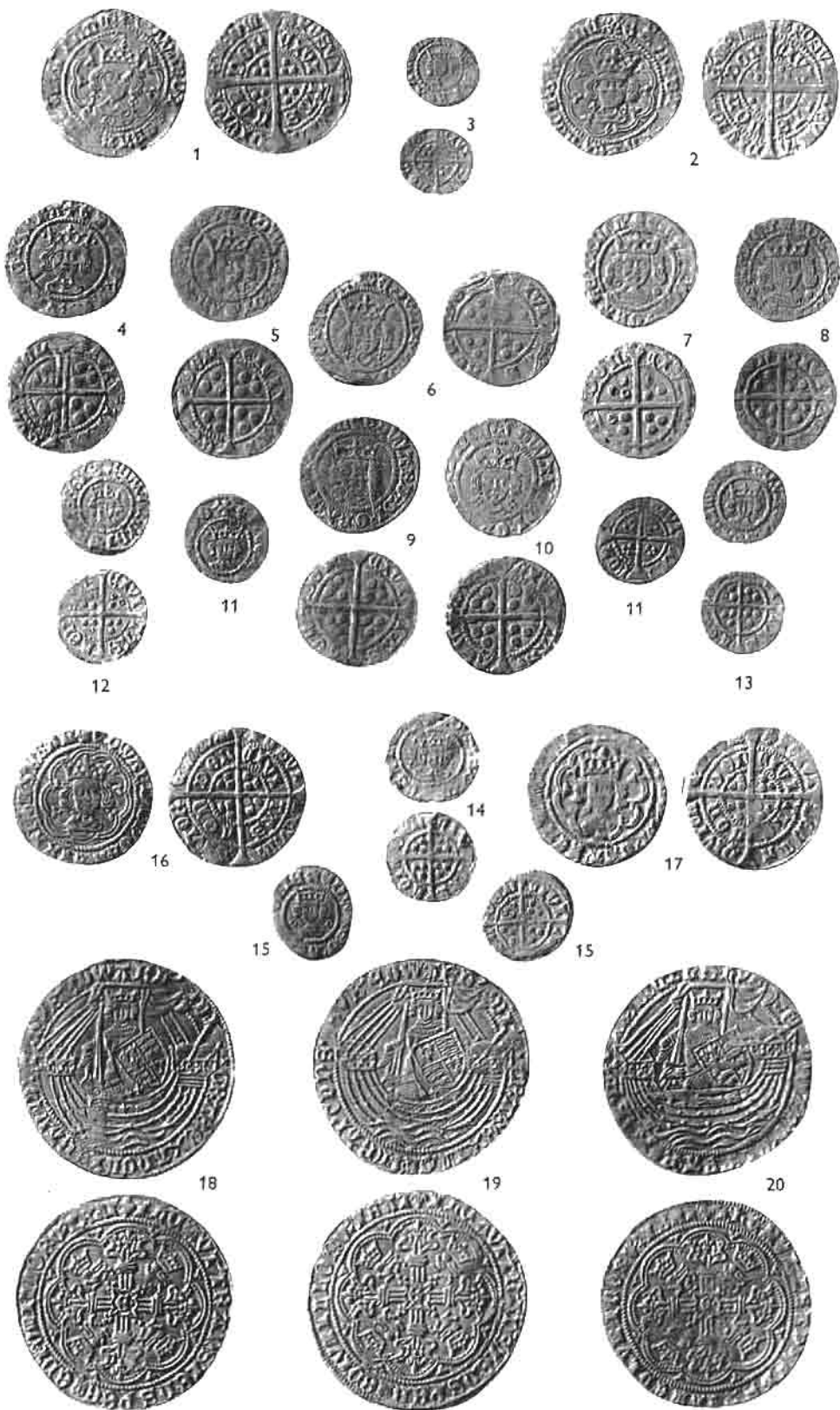
13



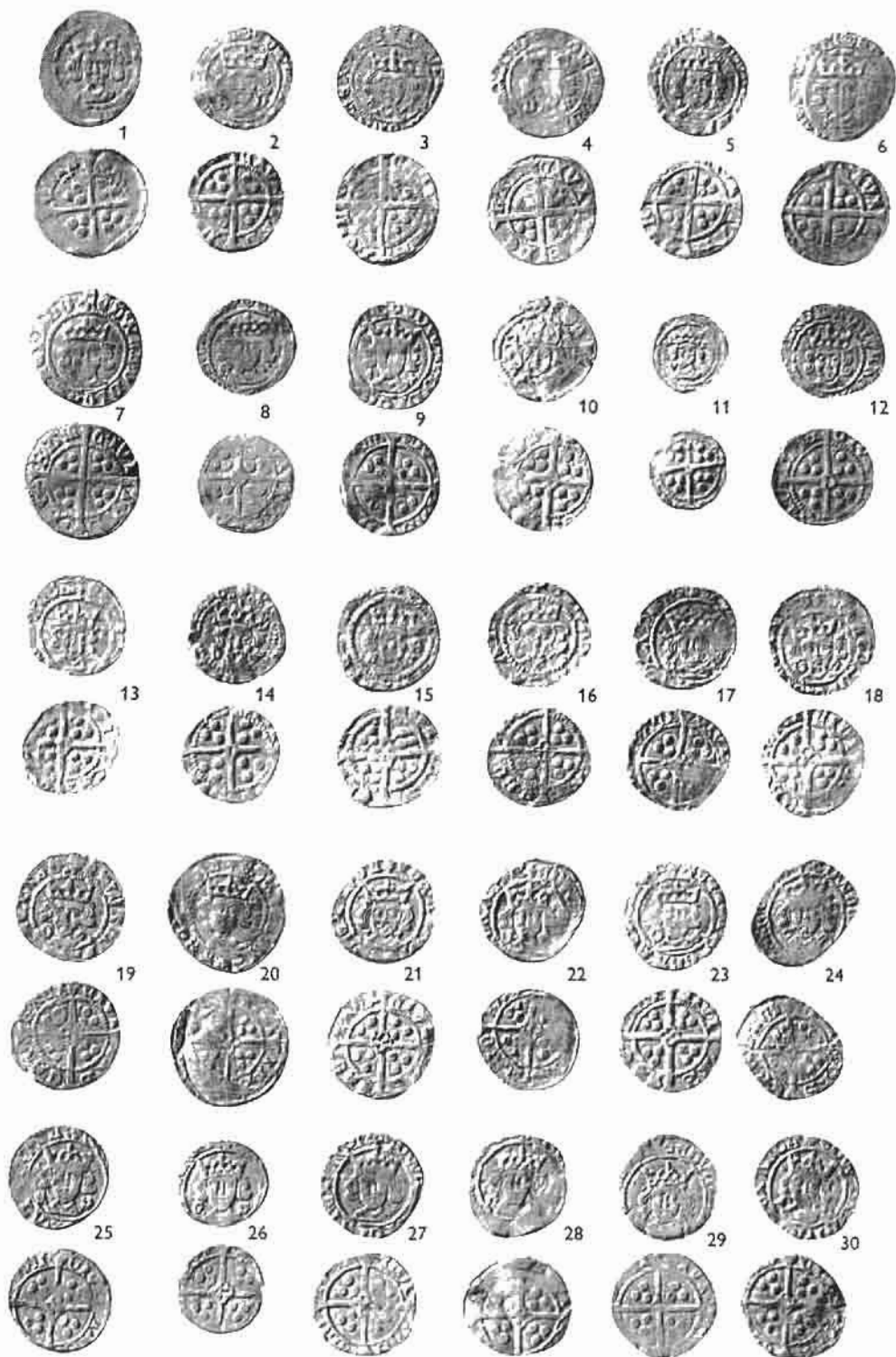
14



EDWARD IV, 1461-4
HEAVY GROATS AND HALF-GROATS



EDWARD IV, 1461-4
HEAVY HALF-GROATS TO FARTHINGS, AND NOBLES



EDWARD IV, 1461-83; HENRY VI, 1470-1
DURHAM AND YORK ECCLESIASTICAL COINS

[illegible]

TABLE OF COINS OF EDWARD IV
(except ecclesiastical coins of Durham and York.)

Type	INITIAL MARK	LONDON										BRISTOL						COVENTRY				NORWICH				YORK (ROYAL)						CANTERBURY					
		Noble	Ryal	Half-Ryal	Angel	Quarter-Ryal	Half-Angel	Groat	Half-Groat	Penny	Halfpenny	Farthing	Ryal	Half-Ryal	Angel	Half-Angel	Groat	Half-Groat	Penny	Halfpenny	Ryal	Half-Ryal	Groat	Half-Groat	Ryal	Half-Ryal	Quarter-Ryal	Groat	Half-Groat	Halfpenny	Royal			Archbp.			
																															Half-Groat	Penny	Halfpenny	Half-Groat	Penny		
I	Cross Fleury, Plain Cross, Lis	x						x	x	x	x	x																								HEAVY COINAGE	
II	Rose							x	x	x	x	x																									
III	Rose							x	x	x	x	x																									
IV	Rose							x	x	x	x	x																									
V	Rose, Pall (Canterbury)	x	x		x	x		x	x	x	x						x	x				x	x												LIGHT COINAGE 1st REIGN		
VI	Sun, Pall (Canterbury)		x	x		x		x	x	x	x	x	x				x	x			x	x															
VII	Crown, Lis (York), Pall (Canterbury)		x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x		x	x			x	x																			
VIII	Crown/Sun, Lis (York)		x	x		x		x	x	x	x		x	x			x	x																			
IX	Crown/Rose, Rose (Canterbury)			x		x		x	x	x	x																										
X	L.C.F./Sun, Sun (York, Bristol)		x	x		x		x	x	x	x		x				x								x												
XI	L.C.F., Lis (York)							x																													
HENRY VI	Restoration Cross, Cross patty, S.C.F., Rose, Trefoil, Lis				x		x	x	x	x				x	x	x				x															HENRY VI RESTORED		
XII	S.C.F., Rose (Bristol), Lis (York)				x		x	x	x	x							x	x	x																LIGHT COINAGE 2nd REIGN		
XIII	Large Annulet/Trefoil, Rose (Bristol)						x	x	x																												
XIV	Small Annulet, Sun (Bristol)						x	x	x	x				x		x																					
XV	⊙				x		x	x	x	x																											
XVI	⦿, Plain Cross				x		x	x	x	x																											
XVII	Pierced Cross 1				x		x	x	x	x																											
XVIII	⦿, ⦿, ⦿, Rose (Canterbury)				x		x	x	x	x																											
XIX	Pierced Cross 2, Rose (Canterbury)				x		x	x		x																											
XX	Pierced Cross w. central pellet, Rose (Canterbury)						x	x																													
XXI	Cinquefoil, L.C.F. (Canterbury)				x		x	x	x	x																											
XXII	Sun-and-Rose				x		x	x	x	x																											

L.C.F. = Long cross fitchy; S.C.F. = Short cross fitchy.

On the gold of the first reign certain variations in the I.M.s shown in the above table are found, notably on type VIII where the crown occurs alone and where the sun struck over the crown is also found. Details will be given in due course in the lists.

¹ Known from mule only.

19. York light penny, G. Neville, 1465-70, type VII, I.M. Large lis, **G** and Key by bust.
20. " " " " " type VII, I.M. Large lis, no marks by bust.
21. " " " " " type VIII, I.M. Large lis, **∴ ∴** by bust ; R. C. L.
22. " " " " " type X, I.M. Small lis, **G** and Key by bust ; E. J. W.
23. Henry VI York penny, G. Neville, 1470-1, **G** and Key by bust ; R. C. L.
24. York penny, *Sede vacante*, 1472-5, I.M. Long Cross Fitchy, **G** and Key by bust, no quatrefoil on rev. ; E. J. W.
25. York penny, *Sede vacante*, 1472-5, I.M. Rose, **G** and rose by bust ; E. J. W.
26. " " G. Neville, 1475-6, I.M. Rose, **G** and rose by bust ; E. J. W.
27. " " *Sede vacante*, 1472-5, I.M. Rose, no marks by bust ; E. J. W.
28. " " L. Booth, 1476-80, I.M. Cinquefoil, **B** and Key by bust.
29. " " *Sede vacante*, 1480, I.M. Rose, **B** and Key by bust, no quatrefoil on reverse ; E. J. W.
30. " " T. Rotherham, 1480-3, I.M. Rose, **T** and Key by bust.

(To be continued)

NOTES ON THE "WOLSEY" COINS OF HENRY VIII

By H. ALEXANDER PARSONS

THE editorial note preceding Mr. Lockett's exhibition of coins of Henry VIII, described in vol. xxiv of the *Journal* (pp. 113 ff.), leads me to present a few impressions of the "Wolsey" coinage which have been in my mind for some very considerable time. These concern (1) the sequence of initial or mint marks at the Tower Mint, including the elaborate cross ends on some of the reverses of the groats; (2) the sequence of these marks at the York Mint and the Wolsey indictment concerning the groats; (3) the general purpose of initial or mint marks.

First it might be well to place on record the mule type of the groats, combining the m.m. lis and arrow both ways, which occur in several collections. A specimen from my cabinet is here shown, Pl. no. 1. No work on the silver currency appears to have mentioned the combination although it helps to determine the position of the m.m. sunburst, and strengthens the view that the m.m. lis was adopted as a m.m. twice in the same coinage. This latter event in the currency is also made more certain by the mule coins combining the rose and lis and pheon and lis, which have already been published, at least by Hawkins in his *Silver Coins of England*.

In the result, the only Tower m.m. of the groats of this second issue, of which at present we have no recorded examples muled with other marks, is the sunburst, although Brooke in *English Coins* refers to a sovereign with lis *over* sunburst, p. 176, and this will be referred to later. As the sunburst has hitherto been placed between the arrow and the second lis, it would be well to review the position of the latter mark. The former is fixed by its association with the first lis.

The second lis I would place at the end of the issue. My reasons for thinking this are, firstly, that it was muled with the full-face groats of the final third issue of 1544 of 9-oz. fine¹ and not with the withdrawn full-face issue of 1542 of 10-oz. fine, and, secondly, that the third issue of 1544 bears only the lis m.m. and is not combined with the m.m. pheon which has hitherto been placed the last of the Wolsey series. It seems to me that the lis m.m. of the circulated third issue of 1544 was merely a continuance of the last of the marks of the second issue, thus following a common practice in overlapping constantly resorted to, and evident even on the same king's first issue and his father's last one. The different obverse of the third issue would make it unnecessary, for fiscal purposes, to change the m.m., and in any case it will be shown later that the initial marks of this issue could not always have been the sole pyx trial marks. If the last mark of the profile second issue had been the pheon, as given by Dr. Brooke,² I

¹ For evidence of the real third issue being of 1544, and of its being muled with the last issue of the Wolsey coinage, see *Num. Chron.*, 1923, p. 268.

² *English Coins*, pp. 176 and 185.

think it would have been continued into the full-face issue of 1544 instead of the lis. Dr. Brooke's view rested on the supposition that the extremely rare profile groats and half-groats with m.m. pheon, and bearing the Irish royal title, were struck in a revived profile issue made between Michaelmas 1543 and March 1544, but he does not say where the commoner pheon coins, without the Irish royal title, should be placed. It would appear that it could only have been prior to May 1542, when the contract for the afterwards withdrawn full-face issue of 10-oz. fine was made,¹ thus forcing the issue of the pheon-marked coins into two widely separated periods, first, before May 1542 for the coins without the Irish royal title and, second, after September 1543 for the coins with the Irish royal title, and this is not convincing.

Let us therefore review the circumstances. In the summer of 1541 Henry was proclaimed in *Dublin*, by the Irish Parliament, as King of Ireland; on the 23rd of January 1542 the change of style from *Dominus* to *Rex* was announced in *England*, but without parliamentary sanction, and on the 14th of April 1542 Henry ordered the Lord Deputy to alter the seals in Ireland.² Although there was no specific instruction to alter the inscription on the Irish coins there seems little doubt, as was assumed by Mr. Henry Symonds,³ that it would have been inserted on them by, or before, April 1542, and as the English coins were struck alongside those of Ireland in the Tower of London, by the same mint-masters, there seems every probability that some of the dies of the English coins had the Irish royal title inserted on them at the same time, and this also appears to have been the view of Mr. Henry Symonds.⁴ In this event all the pheon-marked coins, with and without the Irish royal title would have come naturally together in one issue, instead of two widely separated periods. They were doubtlessly all issued before May 1542, when the coinage of the subsequently withdrawn full-face third issue of 10-oz. fine was contracted for.

The insertion of the Irish royal title on a few of the pheon-marked coins could then be explained on the reasonable hypothesis that some dies were prematurely made and the resultant coins issued at the end of the coinage carrying this m.m., before it was realized that the Irish Proclamation of 1541 granting the title, and the English announcement of it in January 1542, had not been ratified by the English Parliament. The legalizing of the use of the title in England was not effected until the regnal year ended 21 April 1544.⁵

As before mentioned, the Irish and English coins were minted together in the Tower of London, and the die-sinkers, in placing the same title on each type of coin, failed to realize that, although it was legal on the Irish money, as it had been passed by the independent Irish Parliament, it was not proper to the English coins, as it was without English parliamentary sanction.

Doubt has been expressed whether any examples have survived of

¹ The coins were actually struck between July 1542 and March 1543.

² *Num. Chron.*, 1915, p. 201.

⁴ *Brit. Num. Journ.*, vol. x, p. 150.

³ *Ibid.*

⁵ Statute 35, Hen. VIII, chapter 3.

the withdrawn full-face issue of July 1542 to March 1543. Dr. Brooke wrote¹ that all were melted down, and that presumably the coinage would have borne the Irish royal title, and the m.m. pheon, but this last suggestion, regarding the m.m., is in contradiction of the subsequent remark in the same article, that if not melted down they are not at present to be distinguished from the remainder of the third issue of 1544, all of which undoubtedly bear the m.m. lis, not pheon. As to whether this tentative third issue was actually melted down after withdrawal, it should be emphasized that although the relative mint accounts from 1542 to 1547 are complete, there is no reference in them to the melting down of the third-issue coins of 1542-3. On the other hand, in Hawkins's *Silver Coins of England*, following Ruding, mention is made of full-face coins of "fine" silver, and if this is a loose term for finer silver, as is possible, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the few examples known represent a survival of some of the withdrawn full-face issue of the higher standard of 10-oz. fine. In that case it is certain that all the withdrawn coins bore the m.m. lis, not pheon.

The English announcement of the grant, by the Irish Parliament, of the Irish royal title is dated 23 January 1542, and it is not unreasonable to conclude that the issue of the profile groats, m.m. pheon, with that title, was made between January and May 1542, i.e. immediately before the date of the contract for the subsequently withdrawn full-face issue, and before it was discovered that the title was without English parliamentary sanction, given in the regnal year ended 21 April 1544. It is possible that the withdrawal of the full-face strikings of 1542-3 is to be attributed to the same cause, viz. that the Irish royal title on the coins lacked sanction of the English Parliament, and not, as Dr. Brooke assumes, to the refusal of Parliament to sanction the use of the lower standard of metal, for we *do* know that the use of the Irish royal title at this time lacked legal sanction.

The fact that these pheon-marked groats with the Irish royal title also bear the Arabic 8 instead of the Roman VIII after the king's name does not, it is thought, affect their true position in the series. The change was quite possibly dictated by the fact that an additional word, **HIB**, had to be imported into the legend, besides other alterations, and, to make room, the sprawling Roman numeral VIII was replaced by the compact Arabic numeral 8.

The official parliamentary sanction for the use of the title appears to have been delayed until after September 1543, when the last Wolsey coins commenced to be struck. By this time it would have been realized that the use of the Irish royal title on some late pheon-marked profile groats, and on the withdrawn full-face coins of 1542-3, was premature, and the fresh dies made for the last Wolsey issue would therefore not, in general, bear this title and would, in view of the profile-full-face mules of 9-oz. fine² with m.m. lis, issued in 1544, bear the second lis of the Wolsey issue.

¹ *Num. Chron.*, 1923, pp. 267-8.

² Brooke, *English Coins*, p. 177, footnote.

The failure of the mint to maintain in circulation the full-face striking of 1542, whatever may have been the cause, entailed no doubt a considerable shortage of currency, and the decision to strike, again, a further supply of profile coins, which was carried out as from September 1543, was probably a hurried one arrived at through the urgency of the need; for if there had been no real want, there would have been little point in restarting an issue of what was, in effect, an obsolete type. This need is illustrated by the continuance in circulation of the unauthorized issue of some of the 1542 full-face coins of the higher standard, if it may be taken, as I think it should, that the "fine" silver coins mentioned by Ruding and Hawkins are of this issue. Further indication of the urgency of the matter is also to be seen in the existence, both ways, of the not uncommon mule coins which connect the two last profile m.m.s pheon and lis. These mules were no doubt struck in the early rush days of this revived profile issue in September 1543, when the need for working irons was urgent. At the same time it seems not unlikely that the better preserved dies of the first lis striking were also pressed into service notwithstanding they had been long out of use. As it had been decided to mark the new emergency issue with a lis, the bringing into use again of old suitable dies would have saved both time and expense. Such a practice is, in fact, amply proved by the gold coinage.

Examples of similar mule coins, but bearing the Irish royal title, are also in evidence. These might, however, be attributable to the end of the issue, which ceased in March 1544. If so, they would show that, by this time, parliamentary sanction had been given for the use of the title, so making it now legitimate to utilize the prematurely made previous dies carrying it. Although the exact date of this authority is uncertain, it was, as previously mentioned, promulgated during the regnal year ended 21 April 1544, and the circulated full-face issue, on which the title appeared, this time legitimately, commenced at least on the 1st of June 1544.¹ Only three examples of this mule type with the Irish royal title are in evidence; one in the collection of Mr. E. J. Winstanley (Pl. no. 2), another in my cabinet, and a third (Pl. no. 3) in that of Mr. L. A. Lawrence. In support of their allocation to the final workings of the profile issue it should be stressed that the lis on their new reverses is of a rather different character from that usually in evidence on the early Wolsey issue. It is of a larger size. The side petals are more pronounced and the stem is of a more solid type, similar to the lis on some of the groats and angels of the following full-face issue. On workmanship it seems, therefore, that the reverse dies of these lis marked profile mule coins were made only a little time prior to those required for the following full-face issue, and this affords further evidence that the profile second lis was the last mark of the Wolsey issue.

Apart from this, if the pheon had been the last Tower mark of this coinage, the muling of the lis marked profile issue with the lis marked

¹ *Brit. Num. Journ.*, vol. x, pp. 155-6.

full-face 9-oz. "fine" issue of 1544¹ would be inexplicable, at least at this period when muling was, at least on the silver coins, consistently in sequence. On the other hand, if the profile groats bearing the second m.m. lis are of the short period between Michaelmas 1543 and March 1544, just prior to the 9-oz. "fine" full-face issue, the profile full-face mule coins, with m.m. lis, fall into their natural place of being representative of two consecutive issues, and not two divided issues. Further, an explanation of the anomalous use of an identical m.m. twice in the same coinage is then forthcoming, for it is probable that the lis was adopted for the withdrawn full-face premature issue of 1542—certainly so if the surviving "fine" full-face coins are of this issue—and when, subsequently, it was found necessary to make a further issue of the profile second type, what more likely than that the same m.m. lis was continued on it? The different obverses would be adequate for differentiating purposes.

Turning now to the first lis groats of the Wolsey issue it is, as is well known, found muled with the rose and the arrow, so these three marks must have been in sequence. That the rose is the first of the three is made clear by the existence of some rose marked coins with Roman lettering, which Mr. L. A. Lawrence has shown to be contemporary with the issue of the crown of the single rose between August and November 1526, that is, the very first year of the Wolsey coinage.² A further and perhaps stronger reason for concluding that these rose marked groats with the Roman letters were the first of the series, and one which does not appear to have been noticed hitherto, exists in the fact that they follow the form of the *dei gratia* inscription consistently (so far as the groats are concerned) found on all previous issues as far back as the time of Edward III. This inscription reads **DI** (or, rarely, **DEI**) **GRN**, whereas on the groats of Henry VIII's second issue, after the small emission with the same inscription and Roman letters, the reading is **D** (or, rarely, **DI**) **G** only.

The reason for the issue of these rose marked coins with Roman lettering has not apparently been elucidated, but I think that they are due to the dies having been made by the workmen who were employed on the new coinage of the crown of the single rose. The crowns followed the module, as well as the weight, of the French crown of the period, on which Roman lettering was used, and such lettering was accordingly copied on the English crown. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that the same letters were imported into the dies of the groats and half-groats,³ being prepared at the same time by the same die-sinkers with, in some cases probably, the same punches as were used for the gold coins. If so, the presence of this lettering on the silver coins was fortuitous, and was largely, though not altogether, restricted to the short period between August and November 1526, when the gold crowns of the single rose were struck. That it was not confined to this period is evidenced by the fact that it appears on a

¹ *Num. Chron.*, 1923, p. 268.

² *Brit. Num. Journ.*, vol. IV, p. 145 et seq.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. xxiv, p. 114, nos. 9 and 10.



HENRY VII, 'SOVEREIGN' GROAT



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WOLSEY COINS OF HENRY VIII

few rare gold crowns of the *double* rose, m.m. rose, which immediately succeeded the coinage of the gold crown of the *single* rose. Examples of these gold crowns of the double rose with Roman lettering are in various collections, and one with Roman **Ns** on the obverse only is in my cabinet, Pl. no. 4. The same lettering also appears, though more rarely, on the subsequent *lis* marked currency in both gold and silver, and comparable lettering was in evidence on some of the second-issue groats of Henry VII, with m.m. scallop.

The sporadic character of this Roman letter feature on the several coinages cited, and the rarity of the coins, precludes, it is thought, the possibility that this lettering was, in conjunction with the initial marks, utilized also as a distinguishing feature for pyx trial purposes, although it is certain that some other feature on the coins, besides the initial mark, was necessary, as is evidenced from the fact that the two first tests of the Wolsey issue were made in June and November 1527,¹ and both came in the earliest period of the m.m. rose.

It should here be mentioned that some of the Wolsey groats with Roman lettering have, in addition, a cross on the reverse of exceptional design with floriated instead of forked ends. One from Mr. Lockett's collection is here shown, Pl. no. 5. But as none of the half-groats with Roman lettering bear this feature, so far as the present writer is aware, and as, also, some of the ordinary groats, with Lombardic lettering, *do* occur with this exceptional ornamentation, it cannot be considered to represent, in conjunction with the Roman lettering, an officially designed new type of coins. The use of this floriated cross should, it is thought, be regarded as marking an unauthorized variation from the standard on the part of a die-sinker with more individual ideas, and perhaps entrusted only with the preparation of groat dies. Mr. Henry Symonds has drawn attention to the fact that the new Wolsey coinage of 1526 required an increase in the number of working moneyers and, quoting from *Miscellaneous Books of the Exchequer*, he shows that "coiners" were specially brought from abroad for the work.² The artistic standard of foreign workmen at the time was higher than that of the English ones, so it is not unreasonable to regard these coins with floriated ends to the cross as evidence of the individual taste of one of the foreign die-sinkers specially brought to this country to help in the mint. A recrudescence of this form of ornamentation in the forks of the cross is in evidence also in the next reign, on some of Edward's early coins struck with the name and portrait of his father, and inscribed, on the reverse, **QVIVITS LONDON**. An example from my collection is here shown, Pl. no. 6.

In view of the above special features on the coins, there is no doubt that the rose was the first initial mark of the Wolsey issue and, as it was muled with the *lis*, the latter mark comes second; whilst the *lis* and arrow mules show that the arrow comes third. As we have also indicated that the pheon and second *lis* were the last marks of the issue, in that order, and that all the above named marks are

¹ Ibid., vol. x, p. 143.

² Ibid., p. 141.

interconnected by mule coins, the place of the sunburst is between the arrow and the pheon. Superficially the gold sovereigns appear to militate against this arrangement, but having regard to the unusual feature, as contrasted with the silver coins, of the continuous use of old dies in the periods of other and non-consecutive m.m.s, there is good reason for considering that, in fact, they provide the key to the so far missing mule type connecting the arrow with the sunburst, which would render nearly complete the whole series of second-issue m.m.s, with their connecting mules; for, as Mr. C. A. Whitton has kindly pointed out to me, the obverse m.m. of the obverse lis—reverse arrow mule type sovereign, mentioned by Brooke in *English Coins*, p. 184, is a lis struck over sunburst and possibly, as Dr. Brooke thinks also, over portcullis—see *English Coins*, p. 183. The similarity of dies might justify the existence of this latter under-mark, although it is not, in fact, now evident on the British Museum examples. The portcullis under-mark is, however, distinctly discernible on a British Museum sovereign bearing the m.m. sunburst as the over-mark. We cannot therefore dismiss the possibility that arrow-sunburst muled sovereigns, without the lis over-mark, may yet be discovered.

As to the lis over-mark on the known coins, the present writer has little doubt that the long interval between the portcullis under-mark and the sunburst over-mark of the British Museum sovereign above referred to was repeated by a further long interval between the arrow and the final lis over sunburst of the Wolsey second issue in 1543-4, notwithstanding that on both occasions other marks intervened; for it can no more be argued, on the evidence of these sovereigns, that the lis *immediately* followed the sunburst than that it could be laid down that the sunburst *immediately* succeeded the portcullis, which we know definitely not to have been the case. This solution of the lis over-mark is supported by the clearer and more consistent evidence of the silver currency. It no doubt was, in the known urgency of this last temporary emergency issue, inadvertently omitted on the reverse. Whether these lis overstruck coins were, in fact, actually struck from old dies, or were the missing arrow-sunburst mules recalled and overstruck, cannot now be determined.

The execution of Henry's second silver issue was so consistent, apart from the unusual features above mentioned, that there does not seem to be much scope for separating definitely the coins of the first lis from those of the second, except in such cases where examples from similar dies can be identified against the mule pieces. In other words, lis coins which are identical with rose-lis and lis-arrow mules, of course on the lis side, would undoubtedly be of the first lis issue, as also lis coins with Roman lettering. Whilst such lis coins as are identical, on the lis side, with pheon-lis and second-third issue mules would also, beyond question, be of the second lis issue; as will any coins marked with a lis of the character of that on the pheon-lis mules with the Irish royal title. As mentioned previously, there is also the possibility of well-preserved dies of the first lis issue being, in the emergency,

brought into use again a second time, and it would be impossible to differentiate between early and late striking of such coins. In any case, if the suggestion made above that the second lis was used only on the small revived profile issue of 1543-4 is correct, I doubt if many have survived. In other words, the great bulk of the Wolsey lis groats in existence probably belong to the striking of the early part of the coinage.

It will have been observed that the above remarks relate only to the Tower mint of the Wolsey issue, but some reference to the mint of York might be made, more especially as two apparently unpublished major varieties of the groats of that city are in evidence. One is without the initials T. W., on the reverse, although it bears the Cardinal's hat below the shield as on the ordinary Wolsey coins, and the other is a mule type with the m.m. acorn on one side and the voided cross on the other. An example of the latter, from my collection, is illustrated, Pl. no. 9. One of the former, in the possession of Mr. L. A. Lawrence, is shown in Pl. no. 7, and another belonging to Mr. E. J. Winstanley is illustrated by Pl. no. 8. Only the m.m.s acorn and voided cross are known on the groats of York of this issue so, although the above mule type indicates that the two marks were in sequence, it does not show their precise order. A clue to this, however, is preserved in the halfpennies of the same issue and mint, for both those of the Wolsey issue with his initials on them, and those of the *sede vacante* issue, which immediately followed, and still formed part of the second coinage, bear the m.m. voided cross. The cross on my specimen of this *sede vacante* halfpenny, Pl. no. 10, is, for this small coin, very large, about the size of the cross on the groats. It seems, therefore, not unlikely that the punches no longer required for the Wolsey groats, after Wolsey's indictment, were utilized for the following *sede vacante* halfpence, which were doubtlessly struck in the archiepiscopal mint, as the king's mint at York was not opened until 1545.¹ The evidence of this continuation in the same coinage, and apparently with the same punches, is considered to be stronger for the sequence acorn, voided cross, than that for the contrary order based on the presence of the m.m. cross voided on the entirely separate coinage of the preceding issue, apart from the fact that there were other marks on this latter issue the sequence of which has not been determined.

As the voided cross mark seems clearly to be the final one, the above groats so marked, and without the letters T. W., might be regarded as coming very late in the issue, when proceedings were being formulated against the archbishop, and as reflecting a doubt of his right to the profits of such a coin as the groat, for the presence of the initials indicates that the profits went into the archbishop's coffers. Wolsey himself no doubt realized that he *may* have strained his coining privileges, although there was no specific law against his coining of groats,² and those without the initials might therefore be survivors of an attempt to forestall awkward comment, and to prove that the mint

¹ *Brit. Num. Journ.*, vol. x, p. 157.

² Ruding, 1840, vol. i, p. 306.

was being worked, at least partly, for the king's profit, the hat, closely woven into the design, being left to show only that the machinery of the archbishop's mint was being used; for, as above stated, there was no royal mint in York at this period. The idea that the omission of the initials was intentional is strengthened by the fact that the examples of the groats above illustrated, Pl. nos. 7 and 8, are from essentially different dies.

The above explanation of this omission of the letters T. W. constitutes a not unreasonable solution to the otherwise debatable clause No. 40, relating to the coinage, in the Wolsey indictment, which did not state, as numismatists have read into the wording, that the cardinal had unwarrantably taken the profits of the groat coinage, but that he had presumed to imprint his cardinal's hat under the royal arms. By the time of the indictment the profits of the mint had, most likely on the evidence of the coins without T. W., been diverted to the King's Treasury. The indictment says that Wolsey's presumption was the placing of the hat under the king's arms on the king's groats. The exact wording, as addressed to the king, is "under your arms in your coin of groats". One implication of this phrasing is that the king, at the time, was receiving the profits of the coinage. The presumption read by the cardinal's accusers into the use of the hat was, therefore, the only concrete point left to make a charge about, trivial as it was. After all, why should we read into this legal document something that was not there, simply because there appeared to be little point in what was there, thus implying also that the compilers of the indictment were incapable of correctly expressing what they meant? The nearly contemporary Shakespeare was in no such doubt for, in his play of *Henry VIII*, Act III, Scene 2, he wrote: "That, out of mere ambition, you have caused your holy hat to be stamp'd on the King's coin." Here is no suggestion that it was really the striking of groats that constituted the crime, but only that the cardinal's hat was inserted under the royal arms, as specifically stated in the indictment. Further, it is on record that the king had no fault to find with Wolsey's administration of the Tower mint, as a warrant issued in 1530, after the cardinal's disgrace in the previous year, ratified all he had done.¹ Although this document relates only to the Tower mint, it does form something of a certificate of rectitude, and it is suggested that we must accept the York mint indictment strictly as it is worded, and not read into it something which is not there. If, as the present writer thinks, the omission of the letters T. W. on the coins shows that the king was given, although belatedly, the profits, it would be just another illustration of Wolsey's desperate attempt to placate the king and forestall trouble, which is evidenced also, and on a larger scale, by his apparently voluntary surrender to the king of his great palace of Hampton Court, which rivalled, or surpassed in magnificence, Henry's own palaces.

There is the alternative that the absence of the letters was fortuitous,

¹ *Brit. Num. Journ.*, vol. x, p. 145.

but it is significant that a similar omission is well known, and more extensive, amongst the York half-groats of the first issue. The coincidence of two entirely different series of coins being without the initials, whilst retaining the cardinal's hat, seems, however, to rule out the idea of accident and to imply that the omissions served a purpose, and I suggest that on both occasions the profits of the issue of these uninitialled coins went to the king, although the machinery of the archiepiscopal mint was, in the absence of a royal mint, used for striking them. This explanation would also settle the question of the sponsor of the first issue York half-groats bearing the hat but no initials, which Dr. Brooke left an open one.¹

A list of the m.m.s and mule types of the Tower and York groats of Henry's second issue, in their sequence as above proposed, is as follows:

Tower. Rose, Rose-Lis, Lis, Lis-Arrow, Arrow, Sunburst, Pheon, Pheon-Lis, Lis, 2nd issue Lis-3rd issue Lis.

The gold sovereigns provide the connecting mule type arrow-sunburst, although the sunburst is over-marked with the second lis.

York. Acorn, Acorn-Voided Cross, Voided Cross.

The lesser denominations follow suit, although they are not so complete.

The question now arises whether these initial marks were pyx trial marks as well as guides to the commencement of the inscriptions. If they were inserted only for the latter purpose, the reason for changing them five times on the Tower coins of the Wolsey issue is not apparent. One mark alone would have sufficed, as in the case of the cross used from ancient times to the reign of Edward IV, with the exception that Edward III, for a short period, introduced a crown as an initial mark. We know from documentary evidence that, by the time of Elizabeth, the initial marks were also specifically used as the differentiating symbols for the trials of the pyx and were then the sole marks used for the purpose, with perhaps a few exceptions. But this is by no means certainly the case in the time of Edward IV when the initial marks first became so varied, and the Wolsey issue furnishes evidence that they were not the sole pyx marks in the time of Henry VIII. Mr. Henry Symonds has quoted records of eight pyx trials, made at irregular intervals, during the period of this Wolsey issue, but these trials relate only to the period 1527 to 1540.² The records of them are often in an unfinished or mutilated condition, and none indicate the marks used for separating the coins struck between the trials. The last two m.m.s of the Wolsey issue, i.e. the pheon and the second lis, were, there is little doubt, used after 1540, so we are left with only four initial marks, viz. rose, first lis, arrow, and sunburst, for the eight trials known to have been made, and it is quite possible, indeed probable, that there were other trials in the period the records of which have not survived, for in the indenture relating to the withdrawn full-face coinage of 1542 it was laid down that the pyx was to be opened

¹ *English Coins*, p. 175 and pp. 183-4.

² *Brit. Num. Journ.*, vol. x, pp. 143-9.

every three months.¹ This entry no doubt followed precedent, but it is doubtful whether it was acted upon strictly. Clearly, therefore, the initial marks were not the sole pyx trial guides in this reign. Judging also by the fact that some coins of Edward VI and Philip and Mary, as well as of Henry VIII, are without initial marks, such marks were also not, in all cases, the pyx trial guides in those reigns, except possibly for the first trial after a change in the initial mark. For a subsequent test between the initial marks, some other feature on the coins, perhaps used in conjunction with the initial mark, must have been utilized.

The reasonable conclusion seems to be that, from Anglo-Saxon times to the reign of Edward IV, the initial mark was used solely as a guide to the punching in of the legends on the dies, that there was a transitional period from the latter reign to that of Elizabeth, during which it was also utilized for pyx trial purposes, although sometimes in conjunction with other features on the coins, and that from the Elizabethan period to the introduction of universal dating of coins, in the reign of Charles II, the initial mark was, with certain exceptions, the sole pyx trial guide. That it was then practically the sole guide is proved by the record of the pyx trials in the Commonwealth period for only the sun m.m. appears on the coins from 1649 to 1657, and there was, in fact, only one pyx trial for that long period. It was made on the 3rd of December 1657, of coins struck in the Tower between 9 November 1649 and the day of trial.² The new mark of the anchor appeared on coins of the following year, 1658.

On the general question of nomenclature, the terms mint mark and initial mark have been used more or less indifferently. As the marks were made in the mint they can all be properly called mint marks, as was formerly the practice. Nevertheless, the term initial mark is a more useful one when dealing solely with the inscriptions. It was for that reason that it was introduced into my article on "The Regnal Divisions of the Short Cross Coinage", when the work of the Rhuddlan die-sinkers was being discussed³ and, to the best of my belief, this was its *first* introduction into numismatic literature, contrary to the statement in the *Num. Chron.* 1941, p. 136, which implied that the earliest reference to the term initial mark was in 1926.

¹ *Brit. Num. Journ.*, vol. x, p. 151.

² *Num. Chron.*, 1915, p. 345.

³ *Numismatic Circular*, July-Aug. 1923.

“OF THE STREET-SELLERS OF CARD COUNTERS, MEDALS, &c.”

The article reproduced below is extracted from *London Labour and the London Poor*, by Henry Mayhew (vol. i, p. 349, 1851). The book, which I found by chance on a bookstall, describes in some detail the various London trades of the time and the Londoners who took part in them. This particular section seemed to me worth reprinting as it answers a surprising number of common questions about last century medals and their sellers to which hitherto a good many of us have, I think, had to guess the answers.

D. F. ALLEN.

THE “card-counters”, or, as I have heard them sometimes called by street-sellers, the “small coins”, are now of a very limited sale. The slang name for these articles is “Jacks” and “Half-Jacks”. They are sold to the street people at only two places in London; one in Holborn, and the other at Black Tom’s (himself formerly a street-seller, now a “small swag”) in Clerkenwell. They are all made in Birmingham, and are of the size and colour of the genuine sovereigns and half-sovereigns, but it is hardly possible that anyone who had ever received a sovereign in payment could be deceived by the substitution of a Jack. Those now sold on the streets are much thinner, and very much lighter. Each presents a profile of the Queen, but instead of the superscription “Victoria Dei Gratia” of the true sovereign, the Jack has “Victoria Regina”. On the reverse, in place of the “Britanniarum Regina Fid. Def.” surrounding the royal arms and crown, is a device (intended for an imitation of St. George and the Dragon) representing a soldier on horseback—the horse having three legs elevated from the ground, while a drawn sword fills the right hand of the equestrian, and a crown adorns his head. The superscription is “To Hanover”, and the rider seems to be sociably accompanied by a dragon.¹ Round the Queen’s head of the Half-Jack is “Victoria, Queen of Great Britain”, and on the reverse the Prince of Wales’s Feathers, with the legend “The Prince of Wales’s Model Half Sovereign”.

Until within these five or six years the gilt card-counters had generally the portraiture of the monarch, and on the reverse the legend “Keep your temper”, and a seasonable admonition to whist players. Occasionally the card-counter was a gilt coin, closely resembling a sovereign; but the magistracy, eight or nine years back, “put down” the sale of these imitations.

Under another head will be found an account of the use made of these sovereigns in pretended wagers. A further use of them was to add to the heaps of apparent gold at the back of the table-keeper in a tall booth, when gambling was allowed at Epsom and the “great meetings”.

There are now only two men regularly selling Jacks in the streets.

¹ For more information about the “To Hanover” counters see Mr. John Allan’s article in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1943, pp. 108–10. (Ed.)

There have been as many as twelve. One of these street-sellers is often found in Holborn, announcing "30s. for 1*d*.! 30s. for 1*d*.! cheapest bargain ever offered; 30s. for 1*d*."

The Jacks cost, wholesale, 4*s*. 6*d*. the gross; the half Jacks 2*s*. 9*d*. The two are sold for 1*d*. If the sale be not brisk, the street-seller will give a ring into the bargain. These rings cost a shilling the gross, or the third part of a farthing each.

If there be on the year's average only two street-sellers disposing of the Jacks, and earning 9*s*. weekly—to earn which the receipts will be about 20*s*.—we find £104 expended in the streets on these trifles.

Of medals the street sale is sometimes considerable, at others a mere nothing. When a popular subject is before the public, many of the general patterers "go to medals". I could not learn that any of the present street people vended medals in the time of the war; I believe there are none at present among the street folk who did so. I am told that the street sale of medals was smaller than might reasonably have been expected. The manufacture of those articles in the Salamanca, Vittoria, and even Waterloo days was greatly inferior to what it is at present, and the street price demanded was as often 6*d*. as a smaller sum. These medals in a little time presented a dull leaden look, and the knowledge that they were "poor things" seems to have prevented the public from buying them to any extent in the streets, and perhaps deterred the street-sellers from offering them. Those who were the most successful of the medal sellers had been, or assumed to have been, soldiers or seamen.

Within the last eighteen years or more there has hardly been any public occurrence without a comparatively well-executed medal being sold in the streets in commemoration of it. That sold at the opening of London Bridge was, I am told, considered a "superior thing", and the improvement in this art or manufacture has progressed to the present time. Within the last three years the most saleable medals, an experienced man has told me, were of the Hungerford Suspension (bridge), the New Houses of Parliament, The Chinese Junk, and Sir Robert Peel. The Thames Tunnel medals were at one time "very tidy", as were those of the New Royal Exchange. The great sale is at present of the Crystal Palace; and one man had heard that there were a great many persons coming to London to sell them at the opening of the Great Exhibition. "The great eggs and bacon, I call it", he said, "for I hope it will bring us that sort of grub. But I don't know; I'm afraid there will be too many of us. Besides they say we shan't be let sell in the Park."

The exhibition medal is as follows:—

What the street-sellers call the "right side"—I speak of the "penny" medal, which commands by far the greatest sale—presents the Crystal Palace, raised from the surface of the medal, and whitened by the application of aqua fortis. The superscription is "THE BUILDING FOR THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION, LONDON, 1851". On the "wrong side"

(so-called) is the following inscription, occupying the whole face of the medal:

THE CONSTRUCTION IS OF
IRON AND GLASS
1848 FEET LONG
ABOUT HALF IS 456 FEET WIDE.
THE REMAINDER 408 FEET WIDE
AND 66 FEET HIGH;
SITE, UPWARDS OF 20 ACRES.
COST £150,000.
JOSH. PAXTON, ARCHT.

The size of this medal is between that of a shilling and a half-crown.

A patterer, who used to sell medals on Sunday mornings in the Park, informed me that he told his customers the Crystal Palace part was "dead silver", by a new discovery making silver cheap; but for all that he would risk changing it for a fourpenny bit!

The twopenny medal is after the same style, but the letters are more distinct. On my stating to a medal-seller that it was difficult to read the inscription on his "pennies", he said "Not at all, sir; but it's your eyes is dazzled". This was said quietly, and with a touch of slyness, and I have no doubt was the man's "cut and dried" answer.

The patterer whom I have mentioned told me that, encouraged by a tolerable sale and "a gathering of the aristocrats" on a very fine Sunday in January or February—he could not remember which—he ventured upon six "sixpenny medals", costing him 1s. 9d. He sold them all but one, which he showed me. It was exactly the size of a crown piece. The Crystal Palace was "raised" and of "dead silver", as in the smaller medals. The superscription was the same as on the penny medal; but underneath the representation of the palace were raised figures of Mercury and of a naked personage with a quill as large as himself, a cornucopia, and a beehive: this I presume was Industry. These twin figures are supporters to a medallion, crown-surmounted, of the Queen and Prince Albert: being also in "dead silver". On the reverse was an inscription giving the dimensions, &c., of the building.

The medals in demand for street sale in London seem to be those commemorative of local events only. None, for instance, were sold relating to the opening of the Britannia Bridge.

The wholesale price of the medals retailed in the street at 1d. is 7s. the gross; those retailed at 2d. are 12s. the gross, but more than three-fourths of those sold are penny medals. They are all bought at the swag shops, and are all made in Birmingham. It is difficult to compute how many persons are engaged in this street trade, for many resort to it only on occasions. There are, however, from 12 to 20 generally selling medals, and at the present time about 30 are so occupied; they, however, do not sell medals exclusively, but along

with a few articles of jewellery, or occasionally of such street stationery as letter stamps and “fancy” pens, with coloured glass or china handles. A fourth of the number are women. The weather greatly influences the street medal trade, as rain or damp dims their brightness. One seller told me that the day before I saw him he had sold only four medals. “I’ve known the trade, off and on”, he said, “for about six years, and the greatest number as ever I sold was half-a-gross one Saturday. I cleared rather better than 3s. I sold them in Whitehall and by Westminster Bridge. There was nothing new among them, but I had a good stock, and it was a fine day, and I was lucky in meeting parties, and had a run for sets.” By a “run for sets”, my informant meant that he had met with customers who bought a medal of each of the kinds he displayed; this is called a “set”.

An intelligent man, familiar with the trade, and who was in the habit of clubbing his stockmoney with two others that they might buy a gross at a time, calculated that 15 medal sellers were engaged in the traffic the year through, and earned, in medals, above 6*d.* a day each, to clear which they would take 6s. 6*d.* weekly, giving a yearly outlay of £25. 10s. It must be remembered, to account for the smallness of the earnings, that the trade in medals is irregular and the calculation embraces all the seasons of the trade.

On occasions when medals are the sole or chief articles of traffic, they are displayed on a tray, which is a box with a lid, and thus look bright as silver on the faded brown velvet with which the box is often lined. Among the favourite pitches are Oxford Street, the approaches to London, Blackfriars, Westminster, and Waterloo bridges; the railway stations, and the City Road.

Of small coins (proper) there was no sale in the streets. When there was an issue of half-farthings about seven years ago the street-sellers drove a brisk trade in vending them at four a penny, urging the sale before the coins got into circulation, which they never did. “It’s not often”, said one patterer to me, “that *we* has anything to thank the Government for, but we may thank them for the half-farthings. I dare say at least 30 of us made a tidy living on them for a week or more; and if they wasn’t coined just to give us a spirit, I should like to know what they *was* coined for! I once myself, sir, for a lark, gave one to a man that swept a capital crossing, and he was in a thundering passion, and wanted to fight me when I told him they were coined to pay the likes of him!”

There was afterwards a tolerable sale of the “new silver pennies, just issued from the mint, three ha’pence each, or 7 for 6*d.*”; also of “genuine models of the new English florin, only 1*d.*” Both of these were fictitious.

HENRY MAYHEW.

MISCELLANEA

A NEW COIN OF HENRY VII

THE coin illustrated (Pl. facing p. 64) was discovered by Mr. C. E. Blunt during a recent visit to the Hunterian Museum in Glasgow. It appears to be a groat of "sovereign penny" type. Although it is not recorded in the text-books of to-day, the coin was known to eighteenth-century numismatists because it is mentioned and illustrated in Martin Folkes and in Snelling. Folkes attributes it to Henry VIII, Snelling calls it a pattern of Henry VII. Ruding illustrates it in his edition of 1841 and attributes it to Henry VIII. The weight of the piece is 42.5 grains, and it seems likely that it is the very coin seen by Folkes and Snelling and declared by Snelling to be "an unique". In view of its absence from more recent publications its attribution and authenticity were held in Glasgow to be doubtful, but there are good grounds, I think, for accepting it as a genuine pattern piece of Henry VII. The weight of a genuine groat should of course be 48 grains, but it is well known that many coins of this period though unworn are light. It is of good silver, and the workmanship is good, though the king's features show signs of tooling. What is more convincing, however, is that this pattern bears not only the heraldic cinquefoil as initial mark, but every other feature of this well-known group of Henry VII's second coinage issue, with such faithfulness as to leave no reasonable doubt that the same official punches were used for striking it. This can be seen in detail by a comparison of the cross ending on the reverse, the copula between **ANGL** and **FRANC**, the stops, the lis-topped sceptre, the trefoil-topped pillars of the throne, and most important of all the lettering. I am aware that the earliest and the latest coins of this heraldic cinquefoil group do not agree with this generalization as to stops, copula, and cross endings. Nevertheless the bulk of these coins bear all these characteristics, which, I feel can be rightly claimed as those of the group as a whole. I claim therefore that we have good reason for accepting this piece as a genuine pattern groat of Henry VII.

E. J. WINSTANLEY.

REVIEWS

A Hoard of Roman Folles from Diocletian's Reform (A.D. 296) to Constantine Caesar found at Fyfield, Berks. By E. T. LEEDS, M.A., F.S.A. Oxford, 1946. 63 pp.+8 pl.

It is encouraging indeed to find a hoard made the subject of a special monograph in this country and illustrated with eight excellent plates. The credit is due to the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, who have sponsored this publication and who promise us more in the future.

The Fyfield hoard consists of over 2,000 coins, mostly in fine condition, the latest of which can be dated to about the year 307. Treveri and Lugdunum are the predominating mints, but there are 463 coins that bear no mark of origin. Mr. Leeds discusses the attribution of these coins and concludes that the greater part of them may have emanated from "travelling" mints in Britain attached to the armed forces. Another interesting theory he puts forward is that the *follis* mentioned by Eusebius may have been a bag of minted money weighing about 42 lb., in which case this hoard would have represented one *follis* and the Evenley hoard $1\frac{1}{2}$ *folles*.

It is to be hoped that this series of monographs will receive the encouragement it deserves. The next of them, on the Crondall hoard, will be keenly awaited alike by students in this country and on the Continent.

(1) *Foreign and Norwegian Coins in Norwegian Hoards deposited before the year 1100.* (2) *Coins, etc. from the British Isles in Norwegian Hoards deposited after the year 1100.* By HANS HOLST. Published in the Northern Numismatic Annual, 1943 and 1939.

From the first of Dr. Holst's articles it is possible to form a good idea of the coinage current in Norway before the year 1100. The fact that the coinage of Norway itself only began towards the end of the tenth century results in a high proportion of foreign coins in this period. Only isolated specimens of Roman and Byzantine coins are recorded, but Arabic silver coins seem to have had a fairly wide circulation. No doubt all these came by the Eastern trade-route. From the West we find several specimens of the *sou d'or* of Louis le Débonnaire and numerous silver coins from Germany. From Russia only one coin of this period can be identified as having been found in Norway, a fact no doubt accounted for by the late date at which coinage was started in Russia. The main interest of English numismatists in this paper will be in the Anglo-Saxon coins recorded (there are records of only two Norman coins found in Norway). These aggregate in the first period covered by Dr. Holst 2,630, compared with 2,500 German and 2,820 Norwegian coins. By far the greater part of the Anglo-Saxon coins date from the reigns of Æthelred II to Edward the Confessor with the coins of the first-named, as one might expect, pre-

dominating. In spite of the late date at which the Norwegian coinage started, the number of local coins compared with those from Germany and England must be a cause of surprise, especially when it is found that no less than 2,205 of them come from a single hoard. Of the earlier Saxon period there are records of isolated specimens of stycas of Ecgberht, Archbishop of York (734-66), and of Eanred of Northumbria (806-41?), two pennies of Offa (moneys OSMOD and WILHVN) (one published in this *Journal*, vol. v, p. 51), two of Coenwulf, (TIDBEARHT and LVL), one of Ceolwulf I (WODEL), and one of Wulfred, Archbishop of Canterbury (SAEBERHT).

In his second article, which is confined to British coins, Dr. Holst shows that the sterling in the thirteenth and fourteenth and the noble in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries circulated in Norway, as they did elsewhere on the Continent. Besides isolated specimens of the noble, seven of Edward III and Richard II were found together in one hoard and six in another. There is also a record of one coin of Stephen and eight of Henry II found together. The common pennies of Edward I-III are also found, and the mention in several cases of Scottish coins may point to direct commercial relations between the two countries.

Dr. Holst deserves our gratitude for two contributions most useful to English numismatics.

"The English Guinea." By CARSTEN SVARSTAD. Published in the Norwegian Numismatic Union's Transactions, 1946.

"Carausius, His Mints and His Money System." By H. MATTINGLY. *Antiquity*, September 1945.

"An Early British Coin from Box, Wilts." By A. S. MELLOR. *Wilts. Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, vol. li.

OBITUARY

SIR CHARLES OMAN

By the death of Sir Charles Oman on the 23rd of June 1946 at the age of 86 the world (or should one say the universe?) of numismatics has lost a notable figure. At Oxford he ended as Chichele Professor of Modern History, but his interests ranged far and wide over other fields, ancient and medieval, with an engaging delight in their by-ways; and both as student and teacher he realized to the full the value of coins.

His own collections of Greek silver (somewhat surprisingly he eschewed bronze), and of English and Roman coins, were remarkable in their scope and variety; and it was his pride never to have paid an extravagant price for any of the rarities, and they were many, that came his way. For many years he presided over the Royal Numismatic Society and it is at its meetings that most of us will remember him best. Here the preliminary exhibitions of curious and rare pieces gave his prodigious coin-memory full scope; ready parallel and apt remark came impromptu. Then, after the paper of the evening—during which some might have thought at times he nodded, but they would be wrong, no point escaped him—after the paper a lead of kindly and illuminating comment, filling in the historical background of the issues which formed the evening's subject, and encouraging to a general discussion. It was hard for us to believe that for him numismatics was really a side-line, though a favourite one; and that, after all, his main activities lay in the wider field of history. This is not the place to speak of his contributions on that side, his classic *History of the Peninsular War*, for instance, or his studies in the Art of War, but they were numerous and wide-ranging. Of his numismatic studies the most considerable are his eminently readable *Coinage of England*, and many papers and reviews in the periodicals on a diversity of subjects, notably on the coins of Corinth, and of the Seleucids, on Roman legionary coins, on the decline and fall of the denarius in the third century A.D., and many others.

Finally, no notice of Oman could fail to mention his ready kindness to the young collector and student. For all its massive detail he wore his learning lightly and found no difficulty in establishing easy contact with them. There must be many to whom a visit to his delightful home in Oxford for tea and a discursive ramble through his cabinets formed the beginning of a lifelong interest.

E. S. G. R.

MR. T. M. TURNER

THOMAS MALCOLM TURNER joined this Society as a junior member at the age of 16 in March 1937. His keenness as a student collector and his interest in the Society's welfare were soon made manifest, and in 1941 when war duties made it necessary for Mr. Derek Allen

to give up the Secretaryship, Mr. Turner was chosen by the Council to take his place. He held the office till the end of 1943, earning the commendation of the Council, who in their 39th Report placed on record their "appreciation of the sterling work performed by the Secretary in the face of difficult circumstances". It being necessary for him at that time to devote all his time to reading for his final B.A. examination, he asked to be relieved of his office for six months. Having taken his degree he resumed the secretarial work, but in a very short time found that his appointment to the Air Ministry involved working hours that made it impossible for him to attend the meetings regularly. He had therefore to resign the Secretaryship, but his interest in the Society was undiminished and he came to the meetings whenever he could. He was one of the faithful few that helped to hold the Society together and to keep it alive during the war and the "blitz". He was a member of a type of which the Society cannot have too many, for his interest was primarily in research. He was a constant visitor to the Museum at Colchester and gave the Curator help in arranging their coins. He contributed a paper on the mint of Colchester to our *Journal* in 1943, and read a paper on "The King's Crown on Saxon and Norman Coins" in April 1942, and one on "Some Aspects of English Coin Design" in April 1943. As recently as October 1945 he read a paper on "The Relations between British and Continental Currency during the Late Saxon Period"—the first-fruits of some research he had begun and of which he had written and spoken to me with enthusiasm. His interests covered a wide field of history and of numismatics, though the late Saxon and the early English periods were his special delight. He was a keen and unselfish collector and has bequeathed his coins of the Colchester mint to the British Museum. He was never strong and for the last four months he had been in bed, forbidden to read or write or even to look at coins. He bore this trial with patience to the last. His death, which took place on the 1st of May 1946 in Colchester at the age of 25, has robbed the Society of a numismatist of great promise, and his friends of a stimulating and attractive personality.

E. J. W.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY 1945-6

PRESIDENTS OF THE SOCIETY

1903-8	P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
1909	W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.
1910-14	P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
1915-19	LIEUT.-COL. H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.
1920-1	FREDERICK A. WALTERS, F.S.A.
1922	J. SANFORD SALTUS— <i>till 22 June</i>
1922	GRANT R. FRANCIS— <i>from 28 June</i>
1923-5	GRANT R. FRANCIS
1926-7	MAJOR W. J. FREER, V.D., D.L., F.S.A.
1928	MAJOR P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., J.P., F.S.A.— <i>till 20 February</i>
1928	LIEUT.-COL. H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.— <i>from 22 February</i>
1929-32	LIEUT.-COL. H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A., F.R.S.A.
1933-7	V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.
1938-45	H. W. TAFFS, M.B.E.
1946	CHRISTOPHER BLUNT, O.B.E. F.S.A.

THE JOHN SANFORD SALTUS GOLD MEDAL

This medal is awarded by ballot of all the members triennially "to the Member of the Society whose paper or papers appearing in the Society's publications shall receive the highest number of votes from the Members, as being in their opinion the best in the interest of numismatic science".

The Medal was founded by the late John Sanford Saltus, Officier de la Légion d'Honneur, of New York, a Vice-President of the Society, by the gift of £200 in the year 1910; and so that the triennial periods should be computed from the inauguration of the Society, the Rules provided that the Medal should be awarded in the years 1910 and 1911, and thenceforward triennially.

Medallists

1910	P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
1911	MISS HELEN FARQUHAR
1914	W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.
1917	L. A. LAWRENCE, F.S.A.
1920	LIEUT.-COL. H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
1923	H. ALEXANDER PARSONS
1926	GRANT R. FRANCIS, F.S.A.
1929	J. SHIRLEY-FOX, R.B.A.
1932	CHARLES WINTER
1935	RAYMOND CARLYON-BRITTON
1938	WILLIAM C. WELLS
1941	CUTHBERT A. WHITTON, B.A.
1944	<i>Not awarded.</i>

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL, 1945

President: H. W. TAFFS, M.B.E.

Vice-Presidents A. E. BAGNALL; A. N. BRUSHFIELD, M.R.C.S.; E. C. CARTER, M.D., M.R.C.P.; MISS HELEN FARQUHAR, F.R.HIST.S.; H. H. KING, M.A.; R. C. LOCKETT, J.P., F.S.A.

Director: E. J. WINSTANLEY, L.D.S.

Treasurer: A. G. WRIGHTSON, B.A.

Librarian: E. J. WINSTANLEY, L.D.S.

Secretary: T. M. TURNER, B.A.

Assistant Secretary: C. A. WHITTON, B.A.

Council: D. F. ALLEN, B.A.; F. O. ARNOLD, M.A., M.D.; ALBERT H. F. BALDWIN; LT.-COL. C. E. BLUNT, F.S.A.; L. CABOT BRIGGS; J. B. CALDECOTT, F.S.A.; J. DAVIDSON, M.B., CH.B., F.S.A.(SCOT.); LT.-COL. C. L. EVANS; COL. M. H. GRANT; H. P. HALL; F. ELMORE JONES; L. A. LAWRENCE, F.R.C.S.; A. C. STRAND; C. A. WHITTON, B.A.

ORDINARY MEETING

24 JANUARY 1945

MR. E. J. WINSTANLEY, *Director, in the Chair*

The President being absent through illness and no Vice-President being able to attend, the Chair was taken by the Director. There were also present as guests of Mr. Albert Baldwin, Mr. D. Mangakis and Mr. and Mrs. J. R. Pritchard. The Secretary recorded the death of Mr. A. W. Oke of Hove, who had been a member of the Society since 1909. The following nominations were read and it was directed that their papers should be suspended:

Mr. D. Mangakis.

Mr. and Mrs. J. R. Pritchard;

and for Junior membership:

Mr. P. J. Seaby.

Miss Patricia Seaby.

The Treasurer presented the Society's Balance Sheet for the year ending 31 October 1944. The Secretary read the Council's 40th Annual Report in which the Council welcomed the following new members:

Mr. Horace Hird.

Mr. Bert Clarke.

Sir John Hanham, Bt.

Mr. J. Wallace.

Mr. H. Pegg.

The Council regretted to record the deaths of
 Capt. H. E. G. Paget.
 Mr. A. P. Cross.

The Society has been notified that Capt. Paget has bequeathed to them his numismatic library containing among other books a fine series of priced sale catalogues. The Society has continued as in past war years its policy of holding meetings in the usual way and, except during the flying-bomb attacks, attendance has somewhat improved. The Society is grateful to all who by papers or exhibitions have contributed to the success of the meetings. Their gratitude is due especially to the President, Mr. H. W. Taffs, for carrying out so faithfully his exacting office during the past year. The Society welcomes Mr. Albert Baldwin and Mr. Elmore Jones as new members of the Council. Mr. C. A. Whitton has resumed the editorship of the *Journal*, and in virtue of this duty will occupy the revived post of Assistant Secretary. Part II of Volume XXIV was published during the year. The Council is glad to record its thanks to Mr. A. E. Bagnall, Miss Farquhar, and Dr. Carter for generous donations to the Society's funds. The Council's report was carried unanimously.

As Mr. Turner found himself unable to continue in office as Secretary the Director agreed to take over the post for the time being.

Exhibitions

The remainder of the session was devoted to an exhibition dealing with the period 1661-1714.

MR. ALBERT BALDWIN exhibited a series of shillings of Charles II, James II, and William III, including coins of 1669 and 1680, in each case one of the only two known.

MR. J. CLIFFORD THOMPSON exhibited eleven silver coins of the period and a guinea of James II of 1685 with Elephant and Castle.

MR. T. M. TURNER exhibited a number of crowns and half-crowns.

MR. BAGNALL, unable to make his usual journey from the North, sent some rubbings of coins.

ORDINARY MEETING

28 FEBRUARY 1945

MR. H. H. KING, *Vice-President, in the Chair*

Among those present was Mr. H. T. Shrubbs of the Fitzwilliam Museum, who came as the guest of the Director. In the absence of the President, still too unwell to be present, the Chair was taken by Mr. H. H. King. The Secretary recorded the death of Mr. H. J. Dakers which was heard with regret by all present. Mr. T. W. Allis of 6 Hill View Avenue, Newark, Notts., was nominated for membership and his papers were suspended. The following were elected members of the Society: Mr. D. Mangakis, Mr. and Mrs. J. R. Pritchard, and Miss Patricia and Mr. P. J. Seaby (the last two as Junior

Members). The Librarian announced that Mr. D. F. Allen had presented to the Library a copy of his work on *The Belgic Dynasties of Britain and their Coins*.

Exhibitions

MR. A. E. BAGNALL exhibited a farthing of Edward I, five half-crowns and two shillings of Charles I, and a hammered shilling of Charles II.

MR. J. CLIFFORD THOMPSON exhibited a late groat of Richard III with i.m. Sun-and-Rose on both sides.

MR. ALBERT BALDWIN exhibited a half-angel of Edward IV with i.m. Cross and pellet.

MR. WINSTANLEY exhibited coins and casts in illustration of his paper.

Paper

MR. E. J. WINSTANLEY read a paper on "The Chronology of the Coins of Richard III". He was able to demonstrate by means of die-links and attention to letter-punches the rather remarkable fact that the Sun-and-Rose was used at two different periods of Richard's short reign. The paper was printed in volume xxiv of the *Journal*.

ORDINARY MEETING

28 MARCH 1945

MR. H. H. KING, *Vice-President, in the Chair*

Mr. T. W. Allis was elected a member of the Society.

Exhibitions

The meeting was devoted to an exhibition of the coins of the Four Georges.

MR. TAFFS, unable to be present through illness, sent a large and representative selection of coins, which included an unpublished pattern sixpence of 1790 by Droz, with milled edge.

MR. ALBERT BALDWIN exhibited a Dorrien and Magens shilling, 1798, and a George III pattern crown of 1817 of the "Three Graces" type.

MR. W. HURLEY exhibited a George I shilling of 1723 (S.S.C.), with the error in the arms, and crowns and half-crowns of George II.

MR. AND MRS. J. R. PRITCHARD showed, among other coins, the following pieces:

George II: a two-guinea piece and a German medal struck on the occasion of the visit of George II on the opening of a coal-mine in Hanover, the shield on the reverse being similar to that on the two-guinea piece.

George III: a Northumberland shilling gilt; a Fullerton pattern sixpence of 1799, Wire money of 1792.

George IV: two Maundy threepences, one showing the small head of 1822.

MR. J. WALLACE showed two different shillings of 1739; two shillings of 1745, one with LIMA and the other with this word removed by tooling; three different crowns of 1746.

ORDINARY MEETING

25 APRIL 1945

MR. H. H. KING, *Vice-President, in the Chair*

The Secretary recorded with regret the death of Mr. R. T. Barker of Welwyn.

Mr. Arthur Wilson, of 37 Hartington Road, Stockton-on-Tees, was nominated for membership and his papers were suspended.

Exhibitions

MR. ALBERT BALDWIN exhibited to illustrate Mr. Allen's paper:

1. A half-broad of Cromwell in copper, 1658.
2. A pattern "Ninepence" of Dutch origin.
3. A "Dutch" crown in silver.
4. A "Dutch" crown in pewter.

MR. A. E. BAGNALL exhibited silver coins of 1658 and an undated farthing; also three Commonwealth half-crowns and five crowns of Charles I.

MR. J. WALLACE exhibited a forgery of a Cromwell shilling of 1658.

Paper

MR. DEREK ALLEN read a paper entitled "The Coinage of Cromwell and its Imitations". In the short discussion which followed Mr. Albert Baldwin pointed out that the fact that the half-crowns of 1656 but not those of 1658 were usually found in worn condition suggested that the former but not the latter had been issued for circulation. The paper was printed in volume xxiv of the *Journal*.

ORDINARY MEETING

16 MAY 1945

MR. H. H. KING, *Vice-President, in the Chair*

Mr. King announced the good news of Mr. Taffs's improved health. Mr. Arthur Wilson was elected a member of the Society.

Exhibitions

MR. WRIGHTSON exhibited a pattern five-franc piece in nickel of Marshal Pétain, bearing on the obverse a portrait of the marshal facing left surrounded by the inscription PHILIPPE PETAIN MARECHAL DE FRANCE ET CHEF DE L'ETAT. On the reverse was the Fascist insignia of axes bound to the marshal's baton with the inscription TRAVAIL FAMILLE PATRIE ESSAI 1941 5 FRANCS. Mr. Wrightson said he understood that 5,000 of these pieces had been struck at Lyons.

The remainder of the session was devoted to an exhibition of seventeenth-century tokens and a large number of pieces were displayed.

Mr. Albert Baldwin gave a short introductory talk on the subject. The PRESIDENT sent a number of tokens, many of which were not recorded in Boyne.

MR. ALLIS exhibited a number of pieces representing the Eastern counties.

MR. HIRD exhibited ten rare Yorkshire tokens, and MR. BAGNALL sent an interesting series of Yorkshire, Somerset, Shropshire, and Gloucestershire.

MR. STREETER sent a selection of Chichester tokens.

The larger attendance and the number of exhibits showed the keen interest taken by members in these pieces.

ORDINARY MEETING

20 JUNE 1945

MR. H. W. TAFFS, *President, in the Chair*

Exhibition

MR. R. C. LOCKETT showed eight silver coins of Henry IV to illustrate Mr. Whitton's paper.

Paper

A short paper on the coinage of Henry IV by MR. C. A. WHITTON was read by Mr. King; with the paper was included a communicated commentary by Lt.-Col. C. E. Blunt. The purport of the paper was to reopen the question of distinguishing the last coins of Henry IV from the first of Henry V. The difficulty of accepting Brooke's view that only those groats are Henry IV's which have either a trefoil in the legend (with annulet and pellet beside the crown) or Roman N in *London* is that the amount of bullion known to be struck during the period of Henry IV's light coinage is greater than the extreme rarity of such groats suggests.

ORDINARY MEETING

24 OCTOBER 1945

MR. H. W. TAFFS, *President, in the Chair*

The following candidates were nominated for membership and their papers suspended:

Lt.-Col. George Simon Merceron Burton, M.B.E., M.C., West Court, Gravel Hill, Finchley, London, N. 3.

Mr. Colin Stewart Sinclair Lyon, 15 Ullet Road, Liverpool, 17.

Mr. Harry Stone, 14 Chase Court, Southgate, London, N. 14.

Mr. Eric Brown, 1 Newland Avenue, Harrogate, Yorks.

Mr. Morris James Lee, 11 St. Helena Road, Colchester, Essex.

Mr. Andrew James West, Springfield, Bookham, Surrey.

Lt.-Col. N. A. Stebbing, Toll Cottage, Walton-on-the-Hill, Surrey.

Mr. R. S. S. Tidmarsh, 7 High Street, S. Norwood, London, S.E. 25 (for Junior membership).

The following were recommended as Officers and Council for 1946: *President*, Col. C. E. Blunt; *Acting-President* (in the event of Col. Blunt's return from the Army being delayed), Mr. H. H. King; *Vice-*

Presidents, Mr. A. E. Bagnall, Dr. E. C. Carter, Mr. H. W. Taffs, Mr. H. H. King, Mr. Derek Allen, Dr. F. O. Arnold; *Director*, Mr. E. J. Winstanley; *Treasurer*, Mr. A. E. Wrightson; *Secretary and Librarian*, Mr. E. J. Winstanley; *Editor and Assistant Secretary*, Mr. C. A. Whitton; *Council*, Mr. L. Cabot Briggs, Mr. J. B. Caldecott, Dr. J. Davidson, Col. M. H. Grant, Mr. H. Platt Hall, Mr. L. A. Lawrence, Mr. R. C. Lockett, Miss Helen Farquhar, Mr. H. A. Parsons, Mr. A. C. Strand, Mr. Albert Baldwin, Mr. F. Elmore Jones, Mr. T. M. Turner, Mr. C. A. Whitton, and Sir John Hanham.

Exhibitions

By MR. A. E. BAGNALL:

1. George I pattern shilling, 1764.
2. Aureus of Claudius, with DE BRITANN and an equestrian statue in an arch on the reverse.
3. Tetradrachm of M. Antony and Cleopatra.
4. Memorial badges of Charles I.

MR. T. M. TURNER exhibited in illustration of his paper:

1. Third brass of Constantine of the Standard type.
2. Saxon Æ sceat derived from it.
3. Deniers of Charlemagne, Louis the Pious, Charles the Bald, and Lothair.
4. Penny of the CUNETTI type of Cnut of Northumbria.
5. Two Hiberno-Danish pieces (by courtesy of Mr. Albert Baldwin).

Paper

MR. T. M. TURNER read a paper on "The Relations between British and Continental Currency during the Later Saxon Period", in which he showed the influence of Frankish deniers on our Saxon coinage and threw light on the economic links between the two countries in those days. The President, Dr. Carter, and Mr. Albert Baldwin spoke in the discussion that followed the paper.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

30 NOVEMBER 1945

MR. H. W. TAFFS, *President, in the Chair*

Nomination for membership was recorded in the usual way for the Medway Towns Numismatic Society, Hon. Sec., Mr. William Woollett, 11 Windsor Avenue, Chatham, Kent.

The following were elected to membership of the Society: Lt.-Col. G. S. M. Burton, Mr. C. S. S. Lyon, Mr. H. Stone, Mr. E. Brown, Mr. M. J. Lee, Mr. A. J. West, Lt.-Col. N. A. Stebbing, and Mr. R. S. S. Tidmarsh (Junior Member).

A communication was read from Mr. J. Hunt Deacon, Founder and Hon. Sec. of the Numismatic Society of South Australia, incorporating various suggestions for the advancement of Numismatics in Britain and the Empire, and advocating the striking of a silver crown piece to commemorate victory in the World War.

Exhibitions

By MR. T. M. TURNER: Sterlings of Gaucher de Chatillon and Jean d'Avesnes, and an electrotype of an imitation of a Scottish penny of Ferri IV in Colchester Museum. This appears to be unrecorded by Chautard.

By MR. J. CLIFFORD THOMPSON: silver and gold coins of the Netherlands struck between 1657 and 1939.

By MR. J. WALLACE, George II half-crown, 1745, of irregular shape and weight.

By MESSRS. R. C. LOCKETT, H. A. PARSONS, H. W. TAFFS, L. A. LAWRENCE, and E. J. WINSTANLEY: coins of the second coinage of Henry VIII to illustrate Mr. Parson's paper.

Paper

MR. H. ALEXANDER PARSONS read a paper on "The Wolsey Coins of Henry VIII". Mr. Parsons gave reasons for showing that the sequence of the London initial-marks for this period was different from that given in Brooke's *English Coins* and generally accepted. He believed the fleur-de-lis was used twice during this period. His arguments were supported at every step by data and references to the events of the times. The paper is published in this number of the *Journal*.

The Officers and Council for 1946 were elected, confirming the recommendations of the meeting of 24 October 1945. Col. Blunt, speaking at the end of the meeting, thanked the Society for electing him President and paid tribute to the valuable services rendered to the Society by Mr. Taffs during eight difficult years of office. Mr. Taffs suitably replied.

ORDINARY MEETING

23 JANUARY 1946

MR. C. E. BLUNT, *President, in the Chair*

The President offered the congratulations of the Society to Mr. Horace Hird on his election as President of the Yorkshire Numismatic Society.

The death was recorded of Capt. C. H. Dakers, officially presumed to have died on Active Service.

The following were nominated for membership:

Mr. Clifford B. Smith, Greensted, Ashley Road, Farnborough, Hants.

Mr. Frank Gordon Horne, Cross Park Farm, Thurlestone, Kingsbridge, S. Devon.

Mr. Thomas Thomas, 2 Arthur Street, Blaengwynfi, Port Talbot, S. Wales.

Mr. Bertram Williams, 30 Beeleigh Road, Morden, Surrey.

Mr. Joseph William Clark, 56/58 Beaconsfield Street, Blyth, Northumberland.

Mr. Howard W. A. Linecar of Messrs Spink & Son, Ltd., 6 King Street, St. James's, S.W. 1.

Mr. Wilfrid Slayter, 63 West Way, Edgware, Middlesex.

Mr. Leonard Stebbing Forrer, 7 Kensington Mall, London, W. 8 (subsequent address 175 Piccadilly, W. 1).

Mr. David Somerville, 72 Rotherwood Avenue, Glasgow, W. 3.

Mr. D. I. J. Fermeus, 13 Gloucester Road, Kensington, S.W. 7.

Mr. Henry Gordon Chainey, 21 Manor Way, Chingford, E. 4.

Mr. Peter Curtis Carter, 49 Drayton Gardens, West Drayton, Middlesex.

Mr. Anthony Priestman, Brougham, Penrith.

Mr. Christopher Colborne, Hemmars, Worlebury Park, Worlebury, Weston-super-Mare.

The Medway Towns Numismatic Society was elected to membership of the Society.

The Treasurer's report and the Council's report (with an addition paying tribute to the Secretary) were read and adopted.

Exhibitions

By MR. ALBERT BALDWIN:

1. A Pinecone-Mascle noble of Henry VI not listed by Mr. Whitton, *without* the Lis in one quarter of the reverse, and with a mascle after \mathfrak{MADIVM} , an unrecorded position for this object.
2. A Unicorn of James V of Scotland countermarked with a heraldic cinquefoil on the reverse, in the centre of which is a pierced mullet. Burns had stated, said Mr. Baldwin, that these two marks do not occur together.

An Exhibition of Scottish, Irish, and Anglo-Gallic Coins

By the PRESIDENT:

1. Edward I, obole of Aquitaine of a type unrecorded by Hewlett: *obv.* + $\mathfrak{EDWARDVS} \circ \mathfrak{R} \mathfrak{E} \mathfrak{X}$ with $\mathfrak{AN} \mathfrak{G}$ in field with lion above, and a pellet below the lion; *rev.* + $\mathfrak{DVX} \circ \mathfrak{AQUITANIA} \mathfrak{E}$ and a plain cross. This appears to correspond to the denier illustrated in Hewlett, Pl. II, 12.
2. Edward I, piedfort of a denier of Bordeaux, as Hewlett, Pl. II, 9.
3. Edward the Black Prince, gros of uncertain mint, Hewlett, p. 121, no. 2, *ex* F. A. Walters collection.
4. Richard II, double hardi without mint initial.
- 5 and 6. Henry IV, two double hardis, one with the French title on both sides. The reading of the king's name \mathfrak{ERIC} is unrecorded on the double hardi, though a similar coin exists in the Museum at Bordeaux: *obv.* $\mathfrak{ERIC} \mathfrak{R} \mathfrak{E} \mathfrak{X} \circ \mathfrak{AN} \mathfrak{G} \mathfrak{U} \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{E} \circ \mathfrak{R} \mathfrak{R} \mathfrak{T}$; annulet over crown; *rev.* $\mathfrak{R} \mathfrak{R} \mathfrak{T} \mathfrak{N} / \mathfrak{U} \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{E} \circ \mathfrak{D} / \mathfrak{R} \mathfrak{S} \circ \mathfrak{AQ} / \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{T} \mathfrak{N}$; fleurs-de-lis and annulet in two quarters.
7. Charles de France (1468-74), hardi of Aquitaine noteworthy for the retention of the leopard on the reverse.

8. Arthur II, Duke of Brittany (1305-12), denier on which he styles himself Earl of Richmond, **COMES RICHMOND**.

By MR. H. W. TAFFS: a large number of coins, tokens, and tickets of Ireland, including: George III, proofs of 1*d.*, $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*, and $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.* in gilt copper and bronze, all of 1805.

George IV, proofs of 1*d.* and $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* of 1822.

James II, proof of Gun money shilling of 1690 in silver; pewter $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* 1690; proof of $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* 1690, in silver.

Two varieties of proofs in silver of St. Patrick's $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*

Proof in bronze of Wood's George I $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*, 1722.

George III, Irish Bank Tokens: Six shillings, Half-crown, Tenpence, and Fivepence.

Tokens: bronze proof TALLAMORE 1802, one shilling and one penny; bronze proof, RATHMINES Association 3*d.* 1849; silver 3*d.* SAM. MACKIE 1736. A brass flan countermarked CORKE.

Three tickets Irish Zoological Society 1831, in silver, copper, and white metal.

An ivory ticket STAND HOUSE, no. 366, MAZE, PETER WILLIAM GOURAN Esqre for LIFE.

By MR. HORACE HIRD, electrotypes of:

1. A portrait ryal of Mary Queen of Scots.
2. A ducat of Francis and Mary.
3. A Bonnet piece of James VI.

By MR. HURLEY, the following proofs of Irish copper from the collection of the late Ernest Bramah (Smith):

James I, half-farthing.

George III, farthings on thin and normal flans, with plain edge, and a similar coin but no dot in REX; another of 1806 gilt; half-pennies, proof, gilt and copper; pennies, proofs, copper and copper gilt, the latter with plain edge.

By MR. E. J. WINSTANLEY: a number of Irish and Anglo-Gallic coins, all in rather better condition than usual.

ORDINARY MEETING

27 FEBRUARY 1946

MR. C. E. BLUNT, *President, in the Chair*

The following were nominated for membership:

Mr. Anthony Thompson, The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Mr. Gordon Vincent Doubleday, Shrub Hill Farm, Tiptree, Colchester, Essex.

Mr. A. E. Barnes, The Chalk Pits, Beaconsfield, Bucks.

Mr. Frederic James Jeffreys, 20 Warwick Crescent, Melksham, Wilts.

Mr. Tom Poole, Feltonfleet School, North Perrott, Somerset (for Junior membership).

The following were elected Members of the Society: Mr. C. B. Smith, Mr. F. G. Horne, Mr. T. Thomas, Mr. B. Williams, Mr. J. W. Clarke, Mr. Howard Linecar, Mr. W. Slayter, Mr. L. S. Forrer, Mr. D. Somerville, Mr. D. I. J. Fermeus, Mr. H. G. Chainey, Mr. A. Priestman, Mr. C. Colborne (Junior Member).

Exhibitions

By MESSRS. A. H. BALDWIN and SON: two half-groats of Edward IV with the name fraudulently altered to read **RICARD**.

1. A London coin of the first reign with a reverse from the same die, i.m. Crown, as a coin in the British Museum, showing a large fleur after **POSVI**. The obverse i.m. has been altered to a form of Boar's Head; if this was originally Crown the coin shows a new variety of Edward IV's half-groats of this period in having no marks by the bust.
2. A Canterbury coin of the second reign with i.m. Rose and **α** on the breast.

By MR. C. A. WHITTON: Two continental obols struck by John the Blind in imitation of Edwardian halfpence. Both read **EDWARDEN-SIS REX** and are from the same obverse die; one reverse reads **QVITVS LONDON** and the other **MONETA MARCHES** (Marche en Famenne).

By MR. H. H. KING:

1. Penny of William I, type 5, of Chichester, reading **†BRVMMNAN ON C**.
2. Penny of William II, type 2, of Chichester, reading **†EDPINE ON CICEST**.

By MR. A. E. BAGNALL: a number of fine and rare coins, including:

1. Penny of Ecgbœohrt with **SZO** within an inner beaded circle, reading **LEGEORT REX** on the obverse. The reverse has a cross within the inner beaded circle and reads **TIDEMAN MONE+**.
2. Penny of Ceolwulf I, reverse **HELEBERT**, *ex* Drabble Collection.
3. Penny of Edward the Martyr, with diademed bust to left and **+VVLFRED MO** on the reverse. The arrangement of the pellets round this inscription was, said Mr. Bagnall, unpublished.

By MR. H. A. PARSONS: Coins to illustrate his paper.

Paper

MR. H. A. PARSONS read a paper on "The Viking Coinage of London from its Occupation by Halfden in A.D. 872 to its transfer from Guthrum-Aethelstan to Aelfred in A.D. 886". This coinage Mr. Parsons divided into four sections: (1) under Halfden, 872-5; (2) under Ceolwulf purely as a Danish vassal, 874-7; (3) under an unrecorded chief, 877-80; (4) under Guthrum, 880-6. A description was given of the known Halfden coins, including evidence to decide to which of two Halfdens they belonged. As for Ceolwulf

it was shown that his real status was that only of a modern "quising" under the Danes. Internal evidence showed that his coins were struck in the Mercian capital of London. To the third period were attributed certain unallocated coins (which followed one of Halfden's types) which appeared to have been struck at London by a Viking chief of the name of Reiner or Reineld. To the fourth period Mr. Parsons attributed the pennies of Guthrum-Aethelstan bearing Guthrum's name, which could only, he thought, have been struck at London when the city was under Guthrum's control. It is hoped to publish this paper in a future number of the *Journal*.

ORDINARY MEETING

27 MARCH 1946

MR. C. E. BLUNT, *President, in the Chair*

The following were nominated for membership:

Mrs. H. E. Seaby, 46 Baker Street, Potters Bar, Middlesex.

Mrs. W. B. Turner, 2 Brassey Street, Chester.

Mr. Charles Lovell, Tuffley Grange, Gloucester.

Mr. John K. Irons, 16 Garrick Road, Northampton (Junior membership).

Mr. Arthur F. Amann, 1a Mayfair Road, Stroud Green, N. 8.

Mr. Roy V. Farman, 171 Lower Keitelberg Road, Ivanhoe, N. 21, Melbourne, Victoria, Australia.

Mr. Laurence A. Brown, Senior House, Lord Wandsworth College, Long Sutton, Basingstoke, Hants (Junior membership).

The following were elected Members of the Society: Mr. Anthony Thompson, Mr. G. V. Doubleday, Mr. A. E. Barnes, and Mr. T. Poole (Junior Member).

Exhibitions

By MR. H. H. KING:

1. A penny of William II, type 2, of Pevensey, reading IELFHEH ON PENE.

2. A penny of Henry I, type 14, of Pevensey, reading HEN . . .
... RED : ON : PEVEN.

By MR. O. THEOBALD, two half-crowns of Charles I:

1. Tower mint of type I *b*, i.m. (Upright) Anchor. The coin differed from the two other known specimens: (a) R. Carlyon-Britton sale, lot 280, in showing the Anchor in reverse upright, not to the left; (b) B.M. *ex* Cumberland Clark in showing legend ending in MA not MAG.

2. Uncertain mint; i.m. Pierced mullet with pellet, weighing 154 grains. The coin resembled somewhat lot 158 in the Murdoch Collection, there attributed to Coventry, and Mr. Theobald thought it more likely to be "money of necessity" than a contemporary forgery.

By MR. H. A. PARSONS: A rare sceat inscribed with the name of Peada.

By the PRESIDENT, casts of rare coins in illustration of his paper:

1. Sceat, radiate bust to right, behind TIC (?); reverse a cross with an annulet at the end of each arm, as on coins of Heaberht of Kent and Offa. The original is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
 2. Æthelberht II of Kent, penny of Wolf and Twins type, hitherto unrecorded and making the third known specimen.
 3. Ecgberht of Kent, penny, moneyer Babba.
 4. A similar penny, moneyer UDD.
 5. Eadwald of Kent, penny, moneyer, Wihtred; unique.
- The originals of Nos. 2-5 are in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow.

Paper

The PRESIDENT read a paper on "The Earliest Coinage in Kent". In recording this third specimen of the Wolf and Twins type he gave reasons for thinking that Canterbury might prove to have been one of the main sources of the sceat coinage. Discussing the coin bearing the name of Heaberht and the moneyer Eoba he cited Professor F. M. Stenton and Dr. (now Sir Maurice) Powicke as supporters in distinguishing this king from Eadberht Praen. Comparing the design of the coin with those of Ecgbert and Offa he would assign it tentatively to c. A.D. 775. He followed Brooke in assigning the coins of Eadwald to the Kentish series, but differed from him in regarding Eadwald as the predecessor rather than the successor of Eadberht Praen. He supported the view by comparison of the LVL type of Eadwald with those of Offa and Coenwulf by the same moneyer, and by a reference to a charter suggesting that Cuthred was the immediate successor of Eadberht Praen. In the discussion which followed Mr. Parsons drew attention to the inherent difficulty of the subject, to which he had clearly given much thought, largely owing to the scanty nature of the historical material available. He expressed the view that a review was needed of the position of the coins of Æthelberht and entertained some uncertainty about the identity of King Heaberht. Mr. Albert Baldwin also spoke.

ORDINARY MEETING

I MAY 1946

MR. C. E. BLUNT, *President, in the Chair*

The Hon. R. W. H. Erskine, Ickworth, Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk, was nominated for Junior membership of the Society.

The Librarian reported the following gifts to the Library: *A Catalogue of British Medals since 1760*, by Col. M. H. Grant, from the author; *A Hoard of Roman Folles from Diocletian's Reform to Constantine Caesar, found at Fyfield, Berks.*, from the Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum.

The following were elected Members of the Society: Mrs. H. E. Seaby, Mr. W. B. Turner, Mr. C. Lovell, Mr. A. F. Amann, Mr. R. V.

Farman, and, as Junior Members, Mr. J. K. Irons and Mr. L. A. Brown.

Exhibitions

The PRESIDENT and MR. H. A. PARSONS exhibited coins of Edward IV in illustration of Mr. Whitton's paper. These coins will be included in due course in the published paper.

Paper

In the absence through illness of MR. WHITTON his paper on "The Coinage of Edward IV" was read by the Secretary. The writer explained that the paper was a *résumé* of work originally planned and begun by the President and during the war completed on an extensive scale by himself and the President jointly. It was proposed to publish it in instalments in the *Journal*. They proposed to make certain departures from Brooke's classification, departures which, they thought, would show the coinage, together with that of Henry VI's restoration, as one continuous whole. Whereas Brooke classifies the coins in three differently enumerated series, with some eighteen classes in all, they would propose to redivide the pieces into twenty-two clearly marked classes, with the restoration coins of Henry VI coming, appositely enough, half-way through.

A number of unrecorded coins had been discovered and a virtually new classification had been established for the Bristol and York royal coins. A much more extensive survey had been made, moreover, of the difficult ecclesiastical mints of Durham and York. A new distribution would be made also of some of the gold coins. The reign was brought to a close, they would hold, by those coins, formerly attributed to Edward V, which show i.m. Sun and Rose dimidiated.

In the discussion which followed the President, Mr. Derek Allen, Mr. Parsons, and Mr. Albert Baldwin all spoke.

ORDINARY MEETING

29 MAY 1946

MR. C. E. BLUNT, *President, in the Chair*

The Secretary reported the death on 1 May of Mr. T. M. Turner, late Secretary to the Society. By a unanimous vote it was decided to send the condolences of the Society to Mr. Turner's family.

The following were nominated to membership of the Society:

Miss Irene Shrigley, M.A. Oxon., Librarian to the Institute of Bankers, 5 Suffolk Road, Barnes, London, S.W. 13.

The South African Numismatic Society. Secretary, Mr. J. E. Miles, 25 Church Street, Woodstock, Cape Province, S. Africa.

Mrs. Julia Askew, 48 Brackendale, Potters Bar, Middlesex.

The Hon. R. W. H. Erskine was elected a Junior Member of the Society.

The text of the proposed changes in the Society's by-laws was read to the Society.

The President announced the formation of the Cambridge Numismatic Society with Mr. W. Tadgell as its first President.

Exhibitions

By the PRESIDENT: Three halfpennies in aluminium, of George III, two dated 1788 and the third 1790, this latter being composed of two reverses, one showing Britannia draped, and the other naked in a similar position. (In a subsequent communication to the Secretary Mr. Parsons quoted in *B.N.J.* vol. v, p. 356, a reference to aluminium patterns of Droz being restrikes made between 1862 and 1880 and also later.)

A George III halfpenny, 1771, countermarked with a K surmounted by a coronet.

By MR. H. A. PARSONS: Five profile groats of Henry VII of the "Tentative Issue":

1. With tressure and i.m. Cross Crosslet.
2. i.m. Greyhound's head.
3. *Obv.* i.m. Lis, *rev.* i.m. Greyhound's head.
4. i.m. Lis, reading **HENRIC DI GRÆ**; this Mr. Parsons claimed as an unpublished variety corresponding with the similar shilling and half-groat already published.
5. No i.m.

By MR. F. ELMORE JONES: Three coins of the Malmesbury mint:

1. Penny of Eadgar, *B.M.C.* 3; *obv.* **EADGAR REX ANGLORVM**; *rev.* **VVLFI MONETÆ MEALD**. Unique of this mint and reign.
2. Penny of Edward the Confessor, *B.M.C.* 1; *obv.* **EDPER / DREXT**; *rev.* **BRIMTPINE ON HEA** (for MEA). Unpublished type for this mint.
3. Cut halfpenny of Edward the Confessor, *B.M.C.* 5; *obv.* . . . **RD REX**; *rev.* **EÆL (DPI ON ME)LM**. Unpublished type for this mint.

By the Secretary for MR. W. G. WALLACE:

1. Penny of Edward III of Bury St. Edmunds (Fox XV *d*), but with pellet stops.
2. Penny of Edward I of Durham (Fox X *a*), *rev.* ending . . . **ÆMIA**.
3. Florin penny of Edward III of Durham, *sede vacante* 1345, showing an unusual initial cross.
4. Half-groat of Edward III, Series D, 1351-60, with no fleurs to the tressure, not in Lawrence.
5. Halfpenny of Edward III, treaty period, 1363-9, Lawrence Class II with a saltire instead of an annulet in the obverse legend.

By the Secretary on behalf of MR. L. A. LAWRENCE: Two Long Cross pennies of approximately class III *b*, reverses reading **QIVITÆS LONDON**, one obverse reading **RÆX IIII**. These coins were given

to Mr. Lawrence by the late Mr. L. E. Bruun and came from a Danish find.

By SIR JOHN HANHAM: a thrymsa and a George III halfpenny of a date not recorded by Montagu but perhaps a forgery.

By MR. W. SLAYTER: an Anglo-Gallic demi-gros tournois of Edward III.

Papers

The Secretary read a short paper by MR. W. G. WALLACE on aspects of the quality of rarity in coins. He suggested that hoarding of a new denomination or a new type might be a factor in creating rarity. This might account for the great rarity of some pieces to-day, the few specimens of which showed considerable variation in detail, the issue not having been really so small as its present rarity would suggest. He instanced as examples the gold penny of Henry III and the shilling of Henry VII.

The SECRETARY also read a paper of his own on a "Sovereign Groat" of Henry VII. A resumé of this paper is published in the present number of the *Journal*.

ORDINARY MEETING

3 JULY 1946

MR. C. E. BLUNT, *President, in the Chair*

The following were nominated for membership:

Mr. Samuel A. H. Whetmore, 4 Sydney House, Bedford Park, London, W. 4.

Mr. C. L. Mason, 1 Washington House, Basil St., S.W. 3.

The deaths were recorded of Sir Charles Oman on 23 June, an honorary member of the Society since 1943, and of Mr. J. O. Manton on 4 June at the age of 95, a Foundation Member.

The following were elected to membership of the Society: Miss Irene Shrigley, Mrs. Julia Askew, and the South African Numismatic Society.

The Librarian reported that Miss Farquhar had offered to present some books to the Society, which were gratefully accepted. An advance copy of Part III of vol. xxiv of the *Journal* was laid on the table for inspection.

Exhibitions

By the PRESIDENT: A Saxon thrymsa of a type found in the Crondall hoard (cf. Grantley Sale, lots 514 A to 520). The only other specimens appeared to be one in the Ashmolean Museum (Sir A. Evans bequest), found at Dover, and one in the British Museum, found in Wiltshire. The provenance of the present piece which was from the Grantley Sale was unknown.

By DR. E. C. CARTER, several coins, including:

1. A Commonwealth half-unite and crown of 1655, a date hitherto unknown on gold coins.¹ (It is worth recording that Messrs. Baldwin have recently seen a Commonwealth unite of this date.)



2. Two groats of Edward IV; one was of the unusual weight of 61 grains with the even more unusual combination of initial heads, *obv.* Crown, *rev.* Cinquefoil. Both dies are unexceptionable, but the resultant piece in the opinion of the President and Mr. Derek Allen is false. The other coin was i.m. Sun and shows a rose fraudulently inserted on the king's left shoulder.
3. Forgeries of crowns of Charles II dated 1667 and 1678, a false Commonwealth shilling of 1660 with m.m. Anchor.

By MR. H. A. SEABY: An Anglo-Saxon gold piece which was probably a fabrication.

By MR. A. E. BAGNALL, several coins including:

1. Channel Island tin money and a gold stater of Cunobelinus.
2. A silver sceat showing the figure of a raven.
3. Two pennies of Offa and a penny of Cynethryth *ex* Montagu 226, found at Hitchin in the eighteenth century.

The two pence of Offa read

∴E◇∴B∴Λ— Bust to right —EBBΛ

m

and EDEEL MO (Hild. 520) ∴◇FF∴A
REX

Paper

DR. C. H. V. SUTHERLAND of the Ashmolean Museum read an important paper on "Anglo-Saxon Gold Coinage in the light of the Crondall Hoard". After briefly describing the circumstances of the find Dr. Sutherland proceeded to a detailed consideration of its contents,

¹ These two coins are illustrated below.

which he divided into three main categories: the purely Merovingian pieces, the "Anglo-Frankish" pieces, and those to which a Saxon origin might with reasonable certainty be assigned. The coins of definitely Merovingian origin emanated from a number of mints including Chalon, Marsal, Rodez, Metz, Meuvy, Amiens, and Paris, the last important in dating the hoard as it is from the hand of a moneyer historically identifiable, namely Eligius, the goldsmith advanced by Dagobert I and Clovis II and subsequently canonized as St. Eloi. The commercial relations between England and the north of France and the Low Countries to which the presence of these pieces points are confirmed by the presence of seven trientes of Wicco-in-Pontio, the later Quentovic and an important channel port. The presence, in addition, of a die-linked series looking directly to prototypes of Limoges, eight in all out of a hoard totalling 100, led the reader to conclude that their origin in England might be regarded as reasonably assured and the same applied to certain imitations of coins of Licinius, of which there were seven die-linked specimens. Particular importance attached to the remarkable tremissis with the name Abbo, borne also by a moneyer who worked at Limoges *c.* A.D. 600. The reader discussed the significance of the reverse type and mentioned the possibility that Merovingian moneyers may have been brought to this country.

Turning to the pieces of undoubted Anglo-Saxon origin, Dr. Sutherland showed by reference to a map of "find-spots" that they were likely to have emanated from south-east England. He described the various types and suggested the possibility that those with the so-called tonsured head, facing, and with reverse legend LONDONIV may have been struck by the Bishop of London, in which case they could be dated *c.* A.D. 604-16. The trident portrait type which figured largely in the hoard, quite certainly originated from the unique coin reading WITMEN MONITA which was also in the late Lord Grantley's collection and is now in the British Museum, for the obverse die of this coin was recut for the opening issues of the derivative series. With the possible exception of the coins attributed to the Bishop of London, the Anglo-Saxon coins so far described must be regarded as moneyers' issues. One coin, however, appeared to have a definitely regal origin. The piece which Dr. Sutherland read AVDVÆRLÐ REGES was from the same obverse die as another Grantley coin now in Mr. Lockett's collection, with a reverse reading AMBALLONDENVIS and was tentatively attributed by the reader to Eadbald, king of Kent, 616-40. In conclusion Dr. Sutherland gave a date of about A.D. 670 for the deposit of the hoard and stressed its importance in the study of the coinage of the period, as apart from it and the Sutton Hoo hoard, which consists wholly of Merovingian pieces, other located finds were confined to isolated specimens. Dr. Sutherland's study of this series will be published in due course by the Ashmolean Museum.

In the discussion which followed Mr. Mattingly said he was inclined to think Dr. Sutherland's dates too early. Mr. Derek Allen spoke of the paper as the most important on the subject for many years in that it illuminates a notoriously dark period. The paper when published will cover other hoards and coins also.

ORDINARY MEETING

23 OCTOBER 1946

MR. C. E. BLUNT, *President, in the Chair*

The following were nominated for membership of the Society:

Mr. E. Stanley G. Robinson, M.A., F.S.A., F.B.A., Deputy Keeper of Coins, British Museum, W.C. 1.

Mr. Owen Frederic Parsons, 74 Longlevens Lane, Gloucester.

Mr. Gordon Stanley Hopkins, 45 Crosby Road, Westcliff-on-Sea (for Junior membership).

Mr. Kenneth Allen Jacob, Lynstone, 32 Gilbert Road, Cambridge.

Mr. S. A. H. Whetmore and Mr. C. L. Mason were elected Members of the Society.

Exhibitions

By DR. E. C. CARTER, coins of the York mint including:

1. A half-ryal of Edward IV, i.m. Crown and a Lis in the waves (this coin is attributed by the President and Mr. Whitton to London.)
2. A Wolsey groat of Henry VIII with i.m. Acorn.
3. A half-crown of Charles I with a small R in EBOR and an oval shield on reverse.

By MR. H. A. SEABY, a remarkable series of 10 groats of Edward I, all different, of which seven are varieties of the seven illustrated by Messrs. Fox in the *Journal*. Thus there were at least 14 sets of dies:

1. Fox 1, var.; different dies—different X on reverse.
2. Fox 3, from this coin.
3. Fox 5, var. with circles in trefoils.
4. Fox 5, var., another similar coin.
5. New to Fox, an entirely new type of crown but somewhat resembling that on Fox 6.
6. Fox 6, from this coin.
7. Fox 6, var. different rev. die.
8. Fox 6, var. another pair of dies.
9. Fox 7, var. different rev. die.
10. Fox 7, var. another pair of dies.

Halfpenny of Eadred; ✠EADRED REX square floral ornament comprising a cross with oval ends, with two petals in each angle; *rev.* ∴/MAN/+++/GOD MO/... Mr. Seaby believes that only one other halfpenny of this reign is known and has the normal cross-pattée obverse as the common pennies. This obverse type is new

to any reign. The moneyer is new to this reign but struck coins at Southampton and Winchester during Edwig's reign.

New pennies of Edward I and III:

1. Penny of Edward I reading *HYBO* and *CIVITATIS WINDON*, possibly a forgery.
2. A Robert de Hadeleie penny of Bury, of Class 3 g, with perhaps a small S on the breast.
3. A penny of Durham of Edward I, of 3 g, reading *EME DVR*.
4. A pre-treaty penny of Edward III, of Class A, with an annulet before *WON* and apparently new dies.

Paper

The SECRETARY read a paper of his own on the early issues of the first coinage of Henry VII illustrated by lantern slides. He was able to show very convincingly that the order of the earliest initial-marks of the first coinage of Henry VII was in effect Sun and Rose, Lis-Rose dimidiated, Lis over Sun and Rose, Lis over Half-rose, Rose. Mr. Parsons, Mr. Seaby, Mr. Albert Baldwin, and the President took part in the discussion afterwards.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

29 NOVEMBER 1946

C. E. BLUNT, ESQ., *President, in the Chair*

Mr. Charles Wilson Peck, 31 Vineyard Hill Road, Wimbledon, London, S.W. 19, was nominated for membership of the Society.

The following were elected Members of the Society: Mr. E. S. G. Robinson, Mr. O. F. Parsons, Mr. K. A. Jacob, and (as a Junior Member) Mr. G. S. Hopkins.

The Librarian reported the gift to the library by Mr. R. T. Christopher of two volumes: (1) *The Coin Collector's Companion*, 1795; (2) *Tables of Grecian, Roman, and Jewish Measures, Weights, and Coins, reduced to the English Standard*, n.d.

The following were elected to serve as Officers and Members of the Council for the year 1946-7:

Officers and Council for 1946-7

President: C. E. Blunt, O.B.E., F.S.A.

Vice-Presidents: A. E. Bagnall; E. C. Carter, M.D., M.R.C.P.; Miss H. L. Farquhar, F.R.Hist.Soc.; H. H. King, M.A.; R. C. Lockett, J.P., F.S.A.; H. W. Taffis, M.B.E.

Director: D. F. Allen, B.A.

Treasurer: F. Elmore Jones.

Librarian: Vacant.

Secretary: E. J. Winstanley, L.D.S.

Council: F. O. Arnold, M.A., M.D.; Albert Baldwin; J. B. Caldecott, F.S.A.; J. Davidson, M.B., Ch.B., F.R.C.P., F.S.A.Scot.; Col. M. H. Grant; H. P. Hall; Sir John Hanham, Bt.; H. Hird; L. A. Lawrence, F.R.C.S.; D. Mangakis; H. A. Parsons; H. A. Seaby; C. A. Whitton, B.A.; A. G. Wrightson, O.B.E.

The following changes in the Society's By-laws (see vol. xi, pp. 355-72) were agreed to unanimously:

1. In paragraph 2 of Chapter 7 the words "not more than" to be inserted before "six Vice-Presidents" and the word "fifteen" before "members of the Council" to be replaced by "the".
2. In paragraph 5 of Chapter 2 the words "three nor more than" to be inserted between "not fewer than" and "six members".

The President delivered his address which is printed elsewhere in this number.

Exhibitions

MR. ALBERT BALDWIN in conjunction with the SECRETARY (on behalf of MR. LAWRENCE) showed:

1. A muled half-noble of Edward III/Richard II, *obv.* Post-Treaty of Calais with flag and early "et" sign.
- 2, 3, and 4. Post-Treaty half-nobles of Edward III of Calais (L. A. Lawrence collection).
5. A Calais half-noble of Richard II with the "et" sign of Edward III's Post-Treaty nobles. This coin, belonging to Mr. L. A. Lawrence, was exhibited by Mr. Whitton in 1942 as reading **RIC** over **EDW**, but Mr. Baldwin said he could not agree with this reading of the overstrike or of the "et" sign.

MR. PARSONS showed an angel of Edward V, i.m. *obv.* Boar's Head, *rev.* Sun-and-Rose, the third known and finest specimen.

The PRESIDENT showed the following coins of Henry VII:

1. An open crown penny of London with no i.m. and crosses by bust, from the Shirley-Fox collection and the Walters Sale (1913)—one of the five London pennies known of this issue.
2. An open crown London halfpenny with no i.m., unique in having trefoils by the bust.
3. A London halfpenny with i.m. rose (?) and crosses by bust.
4. Another halfpenny with a very clear i.m. lis and rose dimidiated.

DR. BURSTALL showed a Shrewsbury 1s., a Weymouth 2s. 6d., and an Exeter 1s. of Charles I; a half-angel of Elizabeth with i.m. ermine, and a 1664 half-crown of Charles II.

MR. ELMORE JONES showed:

1. A penny of Edward the Confessor, a mule, *B.M.C.* 9/10 = 11, reading + PULFPI ON BEDEFOR.
2. A penny of William II of type *B.M.C.* 2, reading + PULFPRIE ON SUÐ (Sudbury).

A penny of Henry I of type *B.M.C.* 14 (variety without inner circle), reading + ... ODESANĒ EDMUN.

4. A penny of Edward II, Fox, type *XVd*—the very rare mule with a Durham (Bishop Beaumont) obverse and a London reverse.

MR. BRETTELL showed:

1. A penny of Edward the Martyr of the mint of Totnes.
2. A penny of Edward the Confessor of the mint of Barnstaple.
3. A penny of William II of the mint of Totnes.
4. A penny of Henry I of the mint of Barnstaple.

The SECRETARY showed, all from the L. A. LAWRENCE Collection, three pattern half-crowns of the Commonwealth of 1651 by Blondeau, two of which had inscribed edges and a pattern sixpence by Blondeau of the same date with grained edge.

EXPENDITURE AND INCOME ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 OCTOBER 1945

INCOME

[illegible]

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31 OCTOBER 1945

[illegible]

WE beg to report to the Members that we have obtained all the information and explanations we have required. No credit has been taken for Subscriptions in arrear. We have examined the above Balance Sheet with the Books and Vouchers of the Society and are of opinion that subject to the above remark the same is properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Society's affairs, according to the best of our information and the explanations given to us, and as shown by the Books of the Society.

GILBERTS, HALLETT, & EGLINGTON, *Chartered Accountants*,
51 Coleman Street, London, E.C. 2.

21 December 1945.

ADDRESS BY CHRISTOPHER E. BLUNT, ESQ., O.B.E., F.S.A.

PRESIDENT OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY 1946

Delivered at the Anniversary Meeting, 29 November 1946

THE Council has invited me to deliver a presidential address at this our forty-third anniversary meeting, and I gladly accept their invitation as it presents an opportunity of reviewing the work done in the past year, of telling you the plans for the future, and of indicating certain lines on which research can usefully proceed. Its circulation to Members in the course of the next few days will, I hope, serve to bring those who are unable to attend our meetings regularly more closely into touch with our activities.

In the past year our losses have been mercifully light, three members through death and one by resignation. But in the person of Sir Charles Oman numismatics have lost a great figure. Many of you will remember the extraordinary breadth of scholarship he displayed during his long tenure of office as President of our sister society. More still will remember him from his historical works and his book on the coinage of England, surely one of the most readable books on our subject. In recognition of his valuable services to numismatics Sir Charles Oman was elected an honorary member of this Society in 1943. Members will be glad to learn that the English portion of his extensive collection has passed to his son.

Mr. J. O. Manton, whose death at the age of 95 occurred also last year, has not of late been seen at our meetings, but he had been in the past an enthusiastic supporter of the Society of which he was a founder member.

In the person of Mr. T. M. Turner, who died at an early age, the Society has undoubtedly lost a member from whom great things might have been expected. At one time our Secretary, he was a real student, and his loss is one the Society can ill afford.

On the other side it is encouraging to welcome no less than forty-two new Members. With the end of the war and a return to a more normal way of life, many have come to realize the interest and pleasure to be derived from our study, and parallel with this increase in our own membership has been the development of local societies, a movement to which we extend our best wishes.

THE YEAR'S WORK

Seven ordinary meetings have been held in 1946, six devoted to papers and one to an exhibition of coins of the Scottish, Irish, and Anglo-Gallic series. Outstanding among the papers was one from Dr. Sutherland on "Anglo-Saxon Gold Coinage in the Light of the Crondall Hoard". The hoard itself was acquired *in toto* for the Ashmolean Museum as a memorial to Sir Arthur Evans, and no more fitting memorial could have been chosen, for, at the time of his death, Sir

Arthur was actively engaged in a study of the very series in which it plays so important a part. The presence in the hoard of a number of pieces of undoubted Merovingian origin confirms our belief in the existence of extensive commercial relations between England and the north of France and the Low Countries at this time, but primary importance attaches to those pieces of undoubted Anglo-Saxon origin and to a number of coins whose origin is not certain, but which Dr. Sutherland gave excellent reasons for ascribing in many cases to this country. His tentative attribution, moreover, of one coin to an historically known king of Kent, Eadbald (616-40), is one that is entitled to the most serious consideration. The results of Dr. Sutherland's researches in this series are to be published as a separate monograph by the Ashmolean Museum and will be keenly awaited by numismatists both in this country and abroad.

Another paper of importance in the Anglo-Saxon period was given by Mr. Alexander Parsons, who reviewed the Viking coinage of London between 872 and 886 and produced arguments for believing that it may have been on a scale substantially larger than has generally been believed. This paper will be published in due course in the *Journal*.

Approaching a period equally difficult owing to the paucity of historical data I read a paper on the early penny coinage of the Kingdom of Kent, a subject on which further research is certainly needed.

In the post-conquest period Mr. Whitton has given a summary of the conclusions that he and I have reached following a detailed study of the coinage of Edward IV. A first instalment of this work will appear in the next number of the *Journal*. Mr. Winstanley described a "lost" groat of Henry VII, lost in the sense that, although it appeared in eighteenth-century publications, its recent whereabouts had been unknown and modern authors had consequently felt unable to include so curious a piece in their works. The coin presents an entirely new type for the groat, resembling a large-scale sovereign penny. Mr. Winstanley was able to show conclusively where it fitted into the series and to suggest that it was a pattern not finally adopted for the current coin. To the same author we are indebted for a further instalment of his detailed study of the coinage of Henry VII, on this occasion the rose-marked issues of the first coinage.

On a more general subject we were glad to receive a paper from Mr. Wallace discussing the reasons for the relative rarity of certain coins.

DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE STUDY

You may like me to say a word about the state of our studies in English numismatics and to indicate certain directions in which those studies could be usefully developed.

Brooke's *English Coins* is, of course, our standard work and is likely to remain so for some years to come. But since its publication fourteen years ago certain new material has come to light and a few, though very few, of the attributions made may require revision. I

have little doubt that many Members have notes of minor additions and corrections, and these should be collected so that, if a revised edition is produced, it may be as authoritative and complete as possible. Mr. Whitton has volunteered to be a collecting point for such material but, as his movements are uncertain, has asked that they should be addressed to him care of myself. I hope Members will co-operate in this. Ancient British coins were outside the scope of Brooke's book and the standard work on the subject is still Sir John Evans's. This, it need hardly be said, requires bringing up to date. A start was made by Dr. Brooke in a paper published in the *Numismatic Chronicle* and recently Mr. Derek Allen has carried the work further by a valuable paper in *Archaeologia*. These deal with two particular parts of the series, but much work remains to be done elsewhere in it, work on which I believe Mr. Allen is now engaged.

Among the early coins of this island none has in recent years received more attention than the Romano-British series. The names of Webb, Pearce, Mattingly, and Sutherland testify to the excellence of the work done, and their contributions from numismatics towards the history of the Dark Ages have proved most valuable.

Emerging from the Dark Ages we come upon the thrymsa and sceat coinage, a series that can only be studied in relation to the corresponding issues across the Channel. The work of Sir Arthur Evans and Dr. Sutherland has already been mentioned, and on the Continent valuable contributions to our knowledge have been made by M. Le Gentilhomme and Colonel Belaiew. It seems probable that the general lines of these issues have now been fairly established, but, in the case of the sceats especially, their attribution to districts is still far from certain. A valuable first step towards establishing this was the list of sceats, the find-spots of which are known, which was published by Dr. Sutherland in the *Numismatic Chronicle*. Members will help in this work if they will tell Dr. Sutherland of any further specimens that can definitely be associated with known find-spots.

The earliest penny coinage is a series round which there is still controversy. And it is likely to remain so, for the historical data is so sparse that there is little background against which to place many of these coins. This very lack of historical data, however, makes the series of particular importance. In a number of cases, for instance, our only knowledge of a Saxon king is derived from the coins he struck, and the series is therefore fully deserving of further study. To those who may feel that the rarity of the coins makes them impossible to collect and consequently to study I would say that this very rarity has its uses, for hardly a specimen passes through the sale-room without being illustrated; those in our national collection are well recorded in the *Anglo-Saxon Catalogue*; and a remarkably fine series of coins of Offa from public and private collections alike is to be found illustrated in Mr. Lockett's paper in the *Numismatic Chronicle* on that reign.

In the later Saxon period there are still many gaps to fill. To name

but two, the coinage of Alfred, a most fascinating series, and its Danish imitations. Do, for instance, the words **ELI MO** on a piece that Brooke describes as "somewhat unreasonably called an 'Offering Penny'" stand, as on a coin of Pépin le Bref, for "Elimosina" or is "Eli" the moneyer? Again, the coinage of Eadward the Elder consisting of two quite different series usually known as the "common" and the "rare" types. Must we for all time restrict ourselves to Brooke's comment that "an attempt to form a chronological sequence of Eadward's types is doomed to failure"?

The Norman series has been covered in a most scholarly way by Brooke's catalogue of the coins in the national collection. This is not to say that there are not many minor points still to be cleared up, but it may with confidence be asserted that the broad outline is well fixed.

In the early Plantagenet series a gap will be filled when the catalogue of the "Tealby-type" coins of Henry II in the British Museum, on which Mr. Derek Allen is now working, appears. Here again is a case where he would welcome any new varieties that may be known to Members.

In the later Plantagenet, Yorkist, and Lancastrian series the names of Lawrence, the Fox brothers, Brooke, Walters, and Whitton are sufficient guarantee that this has been well covered. Curiously the reign of Richard II has come in for little attention and a detailed study here might be expected to produce interesting results.

Our Secretary, Mr. Winstanley, has, as has been mentioned, for some time devoted considerable attention to the coinage of Henry VII, and Mr. Whitton and Mr. Parsons have studied Henry VIII. The views of the latter on the Wolsey coinage will appear in our next *Journal* and we shall await Mr. Whitton's with interest on the reign as a whole.

Among the coins of Charles I Mr. Lockett and Mr. Allen have done interesting research, the results of which have appeared from time to time in our *Journal*. There should, however, still be material to be obtained on the provincial coinages of this reign, and probably much information lies in private papers of the seventeenth century, many of which are now finding their way into local museums and libraries.

That there is a growing interest in the milled coinage is apparent from the number and quality of the exhibits shown from time to time at our meetings. But little enough has appeared of late in the pages of our *Journal*. Undoubtedly many minor varieties remain to be placed on record, and I hope Members will from time to time collect these and make them available to us.

Time does not permit me to go into details of the other series with which we deal, the Scottish series so rich in beautiful and varied types; the Irish series often so ill struck and still in many ways almost a virgin field for research; tokens, a fitting subject for study by local societies who will have easy access to county records and parish registers; medals, a subject that has almost passed out of our *Journal* but

which should be encouraged to keep its place in our pages; the Anglo-Gallic series, another of those points where our studies join up with those of our colleagues on the Continent.

But incomplete though this review must of necessity be, I shall be more than content if it serves to indicate one or two directions in which future study may usefully lie. And I would particularly invite that the results of such studies be laid before our meetings, whether in the form of short notes or of full-length papers. At times it may even be of value to bring to the notice of the meetings problems which, after study, Members cannot satisfactorily solve, in the hope that a solution may thereby be forthcoming.

There is one great impediment to our studies to which I would draw special attention, and that is the inability of the Museum authorities to keep the Coin Room open after working hours. The blame for this does not attach to those authorities, for they have always been anxious to offer every facility to the student. Rather is it to be attributed to financial considerations which we must assume are governed by the Treasury. This is a matter of interest to students generally and not to numismatists alone. The fact remains, the disquieting fact, that whereas in Soviet Russia museums and libraries are open at hours to suit the working man and woman (the Lenin Library in fact never closes at all), in this country scant attention is as yet paid to their needs.

FUTURE POLICY

The war over, the Council has been considering its future policy, and I should like to outline its conclusions to you. In the first place you will, I feel sure, endorse our intention to work in the closest harmony with the Royal Numismatic Society. I had hoped that by this meeting it might be possible to announce that new premises had been secured, but so far this has not proved possible. The urgent need for them so that the library may be once again available to Members is fully appreciated. The difficulty, as you will realize, is the general shortage of accommodation as a result of bombing and the consequent high rents.

It is intended, as soon as paper restrictions are relaxed, to restore the *Journal* to its pre-war dimensions, and it is hoped in due course to publish it at half-yearly intervals. This year publication was delayed by factors beyond our control, but these should not recur, and it is hoped to issue the next number in the late spring of next year.

An arrangement has been made with the Royal Numismatic Society whereby Members may mutually attend the meetings of the other society. If any Members wish to avail themselves of this arrangement and do not already receive the notices of the Royal, the Secretary will be glad to send them if they will communicate with him. When we secure our new premises we hope to share them with the Royal and to amalgamate our libraries. This we feel will be of use to both Societies. Another arrangement of which we trust Members will approve will

result in offprints of papers on English numismatics that appear in the *Numismatic Chronicle* being made available at a small charge to our Members, on application to our Secretary.

The feeling has been expressed, and I think it is a reasonable one, that papers of too specialized a nature are not suitable for reading at the meetings in the form in which they will eventually be published. I would ask authors when delivering their papers to fill in the background, most of which will have been published elsewhere, so as to enable the average listener, who will not have studied the matter as closely as he, to appreciate the problem involved and to be in a position to contribute towards its solution. I would also specially invite Members, when they exhibit coins, to be prepared to say a few remarks about them and the circumstances in which they were struck.

THE DISPERSAL AND RECORDING OF COLLECTIONS

As we all know only too well, it is the fate of the greater part of private collections to be dispersed on the death of their owners. Such dispersals, if they take place without a proper record of the collection being made, inevitably result in the waste of much of the work expended on it, work in many cases of a lifetime. Earlier in the century printing costs were low enough to permit of the production of lavishly illustrated catalogues that constitute a permanent record; an outstanding example is the catalogue of the late Major Carlyon Britton's Saxon and Norman coins which even to-day no student can afford to be without. But times have changed and, although coin prices have risen, their rise has not been as great as the increased cost of plates. Consequently we see, from time to time, collections of prime importance to the student dispersed in every direction with only the most temptingly incomplete catalogue to give a clue as to their contents.

The Council has been considering how this Society can serve the interests of numismatics in this matter. Clearly it is no part of our function to provide plates to enhance the selling value of a collection, but we believe we could serve a useful purpose by arranging for extra plates to be produced, in selected cases, of coins whose commercial value does not warrant their illustration but whose value to the student is likely to prove important. Such plates would be issued only after the sale and would constitute in the Council's view a valuable appendix to the ordinary sale catalogue in the case of dispersals involving coins collected primarily for the purpose of study.

Whether such a venture will prove self-supporting remains to be seen, but the Council feel that they must establish a publications and research fund of £100 to £200 before they can embark upon it. And for subscriptions to this fund I appeal to the generosity of Members. Subscriptions may be sent to me at Wilton House, Hungerford, Berks., or to the Treasurer, and will be welcomed whether large or small.

It is not proposed to restrict this fund to the preparation of the plates I have mentioned. It will be available for any publication or

research work the Society wishes to sponsor, though it will not be the intention in the ordinary way to use it for the *Journal*. It may be found desirable to publish from time to time special monographs, whether on hoards or on some of the less accessible public collections; a bibliography of papers on English coins and another on hoards in which they occur, especially on the Continent, would be of value. These are just two possibilities for the future and I mention them to indicate the potential uses to which our proposed publications and research fund could profitably be put.

Before leaving the subject of dispersals I should like to mention the interest of museums, libraries, and other public bodies. Often it may be the desire of an owner that a body of this kind should acquire such of his collection as they may wish to select. Yet with the heavy rates of death duties now ruling it may not be possible for him to give effect to his wishes by means of a bequest. It may not be generally known that under the terms of the Finance Act 1930 the proceeds of objects bought by museums or similar public bodies, including the National Art Collections' Fund, are exempt from estate duty. Consequently if provision is made by will that such a body is to have the right to select from a collection at a price to be agreed, far greater effect can be given to the testator's wish than if the museum or body has to compete at auction. For the same outlay, and with no loss to the estate, the museum will be able to acquire one and a half times, twice, or, in the case of large estates, even three times as much as it could get in the sale-room. The estate, moreover, can be completely protected by stipulating that an impartial valuer shall ensure that the price paid is equivalent to the amount the estate might expect to receive in the open market, less the amount it would have to pay by way of estate duty. Should any member want further particulars on this subject, the National Art Collections' Fund will, I feel sure, be glad to supply them.

THE END OF SILVER COINAGE

I cannot conclude without referring, with sadness, to the impending loss of our silver coinage. For some 1,200 years England has had silver coins, often so much the envy of our neighbours that they have been subjected to that most invidious form of flattery, imitation. Of late our pride in them may have become somewhat alloyed, but it will be with real regret that numismatists will see their passing, and this regret will be accentuated by the fact that for technical reasons, the validity of which I am not competent to judge, we are to have inflicted on us a cupro-nickel coinage, which even its most optimistic supporters admit is liable to discolour and wear badly. Some slight comfort may be gained from the fact that the Crown is still to be issued on suitable occasions.

I take this opportunity to place on record my warm appreciation of the support I have consistently received from the Council and of thanking the officers, in particular our Secretary, Mr. Winstanley, and

Mr. Whitton who has been our Editor, for their unstinted efforts on behalf of the Society. Mr. Wrightson, having very generously carried on as Treasurer through the difficult war years, has asked in view of his increasing commitments to be relieved of this office, and we welcome in his place Mr. Elmore Jones.

You will notice that in the list of Officers recommended by the Council for your consideration at this meeting the post of Librarian has been left unfilled. When we secure new premises there will be important work to be done in getting the library back on to the shelves, in attending to deferred bindings, and in listing those books of which we stand in need. I would ask any Member who would be prepared to undertake this work, which should incidentally prove of considerable interest, to let the Secretary know, as it is desirable that this appointment should be filled.

It only remains for me to tell you of our preliminary plans for the forthcoming session. In January Mr. Derek Allen will read a paper on "The Tealby Coinage of Henry II. How was it organized and financed?" Later we hope to have papers from Mr. Thompson on Continental imitations of the ryals of Edward IV, and from Mr. Whitton on the coinage of Henry VIII. Mr. Allen will also give us a short paper on some Continental coins of the type of the English groat, and I plan a short one on Anglo-Saxon influence on certain Continental issues. At least one evening should be devoted to exhibitions and short notes, but this will still leave us with one or two vacancies for which the Secretary will be glad to receive offers either of full-length or shorter papers.

LISTS OF MEMBERS
OF THE
BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
ON 30 NOVEMBER 1946

ROYAL MEMBERS

HER MAJESTY QUEEN MARY.
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF WINDSOR.

In Alphabetical Order

HIS MAJESTY CHRISTIAN X, KING OF DENMARK AND ICELAND.
HER MAJESTY ALEXANDRINE, QUEEN OF DENMARK AND ICELAND.
HIS MAJESTY VICTOR EMMANUEL III OF ITALY.
HER MAJESTY ELENA OF ITALY.
HIS MAJESTY HAAKON VII, KING OF NORWAY.
HER MAJESTY AMELIA OF PORTUGAL.
HER MAJESTY VICTORIA OF SPAIN.
HIS MAJESTY GUSTAV, KING OF SWEDEN.
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE CROWN PRINCE OF SWEDEN.
HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE CROWN PRINCESS OF SWEDEN.

HONORARY MEMBER

1905 VERNON HORACE RENDALL, ESQ., B.A., Manica House, Devon Road,
Bordon, Hants.

MEMBERS

* *Life Member* † *Junior Member*

1904 ABERDEEN, THE PUBLIC LIBRARY, Aberdeen.
1907 ABERDEEN, THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, Aberdeen.
1938 ACWORTH, REV. R. W. H., Glovers, Kennington, Ashford, Kent.
1946 ADELAIDE PUBLIC LIBRARY, South Australia House, Marble Arch,
London, W. 1.
1935 ALLEN, D. F., ESQ., B.A., 35 Bedford Gardens, London, W. 8.
1946 A. F. AMANN, ESQ., 1a Mayfield Road, Stroud Green, London,
N. 8.
1906 AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, 156th Street, West of Broadway,
New York, U.S.A.
1906 ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON, THE SOCIETY OF, Burlington House,
Piccadilly, London, W. 1.
1915 ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND, THE SOCIETY OF, The Secretary, Queen
St., Edinburgh.
1922 ARKEOLOGISKA KOMMISSIONEN, FINLANDS NATIONALMUSEUM,
Librarian, Helsingfors, Finland.
1935 ARNOLD, FREDERICK OCTAVIUS, ESQ., M.A., M.D., Wyntonpe, Hale,
Cheshire.
1946 ASKEW, MRS. JULIA, 48 Brackendale, Potters Bar, Middlesex.
1936 ASSHETON, JOHN R., ESQ., 46 Jubilee Place, London, S.W. 3.
1922 BAGNALL, A. E., ESQ., 3 Castle Road, Shipley, Yorks.

- 1938 BALDWIN, ALBERT H., ESQ., 3 Robert Street, Adelphi, London, W.C. 2.
- 1923 BALDWIN, A. H. F., ESQ., 3 Robert Street, Adelphi, London, W.C. 2.
- 1941 BALDWIN, W. V. R., ESQ., Mont Dore, West Hill, High Salvington, Worthing, Sussex.
- 1946 BARNES, A. E., ESQ., The Chalk Pits, Beaconsfield, Bucks.
- 1947 BASHDJIEFF, LUBEN A., ESQ., Postfach Fraumunster 1071, Zürich, Switzerland.
- 1903 *BAYLEY, ARTHUR R., ESQ., B.A., Cotford, Graham Road, Malvern.
- 1909 BELFAST CENTRAL PUBLIC LIBRARY, Chief Librarian, Belfast, Ireland.
- 1904 BIRKENHEAD FREE PUBLIC LIBRARIES, Librarian, Central Library, Birkenhead.
- 1906 BIRMINGHAM PUBLIC LIBRARIES, The City Librarian, Birmingham, 1.
- 1933 BLUNT, C. E., O.B.E., F.S.A., Wilton House, Hungerford, Berks.
- 1907 BOOTLE CENTRAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM, Librarian and Curator, Oriol Road, Bootle, Lancashire.
- 1930 BOURNEMOUTH PUBLIC LIBRARIES, Borough Librarian, Central Library, Bournemouth, Hants.
- 1942 BRETTELL, R. P. V., ESQ., Devon Constabulary, Lynton, North Devon.
- 1933 *BRIGGS, L. CABOT, ESQ., Messrs. Abbot, Proctor & Payne, 115 Broadway, New York, U.S.A.
- 1945 BROWN, E., ESQ., 1 Newland Avenue, Harrogate, Yorks.
- 1946 †BROWN, L. A., ESQ., 3 Hampton Road, Worcester Park, Surrey.
- 1927 BROWNING, W. H., ESQ., Chiddingstone, Bexley Road, Eltham, London, S.E. 9.
- 1915 BRUSHFIELD, A. N., ESQ., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., 31 Kyoto Court, Nyewood Lane, Bognor Regis, Sussex.
- 1934 BUNN, C. J., ESQ., 38 Boskwood Way, Orpington, Kent.
- 1926 *BURR, CHARLES W., ESQ., M.D., 1918 Spruce Street, Philadelphia, U.S.A.
- 1942 BURSTAL, E., ESQ., M.A., M.D., 46 Lansdowne Road, Bournemouth, Hants.
- 1911 BURTON, FRANK ERNEST, ESQ., J.P., F.S.A., Orston Hall, Notts.
- 1945 BURTON, LT.-COL. G. S. M., M.B.E., M.C., West Court, Gravel Hill, Finchley, London, N. 3.
- 1903 CALDECOTT, J. B., ESQ., F.S.A., Amberley, near Arundel, Sussex.
- 1908 CAMBRIDGE, THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM, Director.
- 1904 CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, Librarian.
- 1922 *CAMPBELL, MRS. ROBERT JAMES, Hotel Weylin, 40 East 54th Street, New York, U.S.A.
- 1904 CARDIFF FREE LIBRARIES, Librarian, Cardiff, Glam.
- 1911 CARLYON-BRITTON, RAYMOND C., ESQ., F.S.A., 38 Westgate, Chichester.
- 1906 CARTER, ERNEST CHRISTISON, ESQ., M.D., M.R.C.P., "The Elms", Forty Hill, Enfield, Middlesex.
- 1946 CARTER, P. C., ESQ., 49 Drayton Gardens, West Drayton, Middlesex.
- 1946 CHAINEY, H. G., ESQ., 21 Manor Way, Chingford, London, E. 4.
- 1929 CHECKLEY, JAMES FREDERICK HAYSelden, ESQ., 26 Maple Avenue, Maidstone, Kent.
- 1914 CHRISTOPHER, RICHARD THORNEY, ESQ., West View, Bradford-on-Avon, Wilts.
- 1946 CLARK, J. W., ESQ., 56/58 Beaconsfield St., Blyth, Northumberland.
- 1944 CLARKE, BERT., ESQ., Bennington, School Lane, Bapchild, Sittingbourne, Kent.
- 1946 †COLBORNE, C., ESQ., Hemmars, Worlebury Park, Worlebury, Weston-super-Mare.

- 1904 COLCHESTER, THE CORPORATION OF, Colchester and Essex Museum, Colchester.
- 1909 CONGRESS, LIBRARY OF, Washington, D.C., U.S.A., Librarian, c/o Messrs. Edward G. Allen and Son, Ltd., 14 Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, London, W.C. 2.
- 1909 CORNWALL, THE ROYAL INSTITUTION COUNTY MUSEUM AND ART GALLERY OF TRURO, Curator, Truro.
- 1937 DAVIDSON, J., ESQ., M.B., CH.B., F.R.C.P.E., F.S.A.SCOT., c/o Caledonian United Services Club, Edinburgh.
- 1930 DAY, WALTER HANKS, ESQ., Carlyle House, Maidstone, Kent.
- 1917 DENMARK, G. GALSTER, ESQ., Keeper, Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen.
- 1926 DENTON, ARTHUR R., ESQ., "The Hollies", 90 Haygate Road, Wellington, Shropshire.
- 1904 DERBY FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY, Director, Derby.
- 1942 DIGGLE, MAJOR P. G. W., La Quinta, Harfield Road, Kenilworth, Cape Town, S. Africa.
- 1946 DOUBLEDAY, G. V., ESQ., Shrubbs Hill Farm, Tiptree, Colchester, Essex.
- 1904 DUBLIN, THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY, 19 Dawson Street, Dublin, Eire.
- 1904 EDINBURGH, THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SCOTLAND, The Keeper, Edinburgh.
- 1903 EDINBURGH PUBLIC LIBRARY, Principal Librarian, Edinburgh.
- 1913 EDINBURGH, THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, Librarian, Edinburgh.
- 1946 †ERSKINE, THE HON. R. W. H., Ickworth, Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk.
- 1903 EVANS, LIEUT.-COLONEL C. L., "Corris", Wash Hill, Newbury, Berks.
- 1946 FARMAN, N. R. V., ESQ., 171 Lower Keitelberg Road, Ivanhoe, N. 21, Melbourne, Victoria, Australia.
- 1903 FARQUHAR, MISS HELEN, F.R.HIST.S., 6 Lowndes Street, London, S.W. 1.
- 1946 FERMEUS, D. A. J., ESQ., 13 Gloucester Road, Kensington, London, S.W. 7.
- 1903 FORRER, L., ESQ., Helvetia, 14 Homefield Road, Bromley, Kent.
- 1946 FORRER, L. S., ESQ., 175 Piccadilly, London, W.
- 1947 FORRER, R., ESQ., c/o Messrs. Spink and Son, Limited, 5-7 King Street, St. James's, S.W. 1.
- 1906 GARDNER, WILLOUGHBY, ESQ., D.SC., F.S.A., Y Berlfa, Deganwy, North Wales.
- 1903 GLASGOW, THE MITCHELL LIBRARY, Librarian, North Street, Glasgow.
- 1903 GLENDINING, D., ESQ., 7 Argyll Street, London, W. 1.
- 1938 GRANT, COLONEL M. H., 18 Victoria Grove, London, W. 8.
- 1943 *GRIFFITHS, NORMAN, ESQ., Trinity Chambers, 67 High Street, Tunstall, Stoke-on-Trent, Staffs.
- 1947 GROVER, B. H., ESQ., 17 Fortismere Avenue, Muswell Hill, London, N. 10.
- 1919 HALL, HENRY PLATT, ESQ., Pentreheylin Hall, Llanymynech, Montgomery.
- 1944 *HANHAM, SIR JOHN, BT., Dean's Court, Wimborne, Dorset.
- 1909 HARVARD UNIVERSITY, LIBRARY OF, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A., Librarian, c/o Messrs. Edward G. Allen and Son, Limited, 14 Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, London, W.C. 2.
- 1947 HAY, C., ESQ., 140 King's Cross Road, London, W.C. 1.

- 1944 HIRD, H., ESQ., Fern Royd, North Park Road, Bradford, Yorks.
- 1943 HOLMES, H., ESQ., 3 Worcester Street, Barrow-in-Furness, Lancs.
- 1946 †HOPKINS, G. S., ESQ., 45 Crosby Road, Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex.
- 1946 HORNE, J. F. G., ESQ., Cross Park Farm, Thurlestone, Nr. Kingsbridge, Devon.
- 1906 *HUNTINGDON, ARCHER MILTON, ESQ., 1 East 89th Street, New York City, U.S.A.
- 1939 HURLEY, W., ESQ., 37 Thaxted Road, New Eltham, London, S.E. 9.
- 1904 IRELAND, NATIONAL LIBRARY OF, Director, Kildare St., Dublin, Eire.
- 1946 †IRONS, J. K., ESQ., 16 Garrick Road, Northampton.
- 1939 JACKSON, C. A., ESQ., 7 Rylestone Grove, Stoke Bishop, Bristol, 9.
- 1946 JACOB, K. A., ESQ., Lynstone, 32 Gilbert Road, Cambridge.
- 1944 JOHNSTONE, DR. E. A., Brunswick House, Clayton, Manchester.
- 1938 JONES, F. ELMORE, ESQ., 228 Nether Street, London, N. 3.
- 1937 KENNY, LAWRENCE AMBERTON, ESQ., Shamrock, Ivy Lane, Whitstable, Kent.
- 1909 KING, HORACE HERBERT, ESQ., M.A., Brookside, North Chapel, Petworth, Sussex.
- 1938 KING, PATRICK, ESQ., Oak Apple Cottage, High Street Green, Chiddingfold, Surrey.
- 1903 LAWRENCE, L. A., ESQ., F.R.C.S., 44 Belsize Square, London, N.W. 3.
- 1904 LEE, ERNEST HARRY, ESQ., 71 Upper Parliament Street, Nottingham.
- 1945 LEE, M. J., 8 Inglis Road, Colchester, Essex.
- 1904 LEEDS PUBLIC FREE LIBRARIES, Chief Librarian, Central Free Public Library, Leeds.
- 1905 LEICESTER, THE MUNICIPAL LIBRARIES OF, Librarian, Leicester.
- 1946 LINECAR, H. W. A., ESQ., c/o Messrs. Spink & Son, Ltd., 5-7 King St., St. James's, London, S.W. 1.
- 1933 LINGFORD, HERBERT M., ESQ., Cotherstone, Barnard Castle, Co. Durham.
- 1947 LIVEING, COMMANDER R. G., R.N., Wester House, The Avenue, Alverstoke, Hants.
- 1905 LOCKETT, RICHARD CYRIL, ESQ., J.P., F.S.A., 58 Cadogan Place, London, S.W. 1.
- 1922 LONDON LIBRARY, THE, Chief Librarian, 14 St. James's Square, London, S.W. 1.
- 1933 LONDON LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF, Goldsmiths' Librarian, Senate House, Bloomsbury, W.C. 1.
- 1921 LONERGAN, P., ESQ., 15 Larchfield Street, Darlington.
- 1915 LONGMAN, W., 42 Chelsea Square, Chelsea, London, S.W. 3.
- 1946 LOVELL, C., ESQ., Tuffley Grange, Gloucester.
- 1945 LYON, C. S. S., ESQ., 15 Ullet Road, Liverpool, 17.
- 1930 *MABBOTT, THOMAS OLLIVE, PROF., PH.D., 27 Washington Square N., New York 11, N.Y., U.S.A.
- 1904 MANCHESTER, THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, Librarian, Manchester.
- 1903 MANCHESTER PUBLIC FREE LIBRARY, Chief Librarian, Manchester.
- 1945 MANGAKIS, D., ESQ., 7 Esmond Court, Thackeray Street, London, W. 8.
- 1920 *MAPLES, A. K., ESQ., 33 London Road, Spalding, Lincs.
- 1944 MARSHALL, J. Y., ESQ., 20 Kildare Gardens, London, W. 2.
- 1946 MASON, C. L., ESQ., 1 Washington House, Basil Street, London, S.W. 3.
- 1942 MASON, NORMAN B., ESQ., 200 St. Helen's Avenue, Toronto 4, Ont., Canada.

- 1947 MATTINGLY, H., ESQ., M.A., British Museum, W.C. 1.
 1946 MEDWAY TOWNS NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, c/o W. Woollett, Esq.,
 11 Windsor Avenue, Chatham, Kent.
 1905 MEHL, B. MAX, ESQ., Fort Worth, Texas, U.S.A.
 1921 MICHIGAN, THE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF, U.S.A., c/o H.
 Sotheran & Co., 43 Piccadilly, London, W. 1.
 1932 MITCHELL, DAVID DEWAR, ESQ., 18 Craneford Way, Twickenham,
 Middlesex.
 1939 MULLER, F., ESQ., L.D.S., 46 Station Road, Blackpool, S.S., Lancs.
 1927 NAPIER, DUNCAN SCOTT, ESQ., 3 Marchhall Road, Edinburgh.
 1921 NEVIN, J., ESQ., 136 Musters Road, West Bridgford, Nottingham.
 1916 NEW SOUTH WALES PUBLIC LIBRARY, Sydney, Australia, c/o
 Messrs. Truslove and Hanson, Limited, 153 Oxford Street,
 London, W. 1.
 1909 NEW YORK, THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, Librarian, c/o
 Bernard A. Quaritch, 11 Grafton Street, New Bond Street,
 London, W. 1.
 1904 NEW YORK LIBRARY, The Librarian, Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street,
 New York, U.S.A.
 1935 NEWNHAM, ALBERT JAMES, ESQ., 35 Frogmore Lane, Lovedean,
 Hants.
 1930 NORWICH CASTLE MUSEUM, Curator, Norwich, Norfolk.
 1919 NOTTINGHAM PUBLIC LIBRARIES, City Librarian, The Central
 Public Library, Sherwood Street, Nottingham.
 1904 OLDHAM, FREE LIBRARY COMMITTEE, Librarian, Oldham, Lancs.
 1922 OXFORD, ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM, Keeper, Oxford.
 1904 OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY, Librarian, Oxford.
 1903 PARSONS, H. ALEXANDER, ESQ., Charmandean, Towncourt Crescent,
 Pett's Wood, Kent.
 1946 PARSONS, O. F., ESQ., 74 Longlevens Lane, Gloucester.
 1947 PECK, C. W., ESQ., 31 Vineyard Hill Road, Wimbledon, London,
 S.W. 19.
 1944 PEGG, H., ESQ., Sunny Nook, Wollaton Road, Beeston, Notts.
 1909 PHILADELPHIA, THE FREE LIBRARY OF, Librarian, Philadelphia, Pa.,
 U.S.A.
 1946 †POOLE, T. H. R., ESQ., Stanley House, 3 Barby Road, Rugby.
 1944 PRIDMORE, F., ESQ., 46 High Street, Skegness, Lincs.
 1946 PRIESTMAN, A., ESQ., Brougham, Penrith, Cumberland.
 1945 PRITCHARD, J. R., ESQ., 122 Kensington Park Road, W. 11.
 1945 PRITCHARD, MRS. J. R., 122 Kensington Park Road, W. 11.
 1903 RABY, HAROLD, ESQ., Kensington House, Withington, Manchester.
 1926 READING PUBLIC LIBRARIES, Chief Librarian, Reading, Berks.
 1947 READING UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, Librarian, Reading, Berks.
 1903 *REYNOLDS, H. M., ESQ., Silver Birches, Kirkley Park Road, South
 Lowestoft, Suffolk.
 1946 ROBINSON, E. S. G., M.A., F.S.A., F.B.A., Deputy Keeper of Coins
 British Museum, W.C. 1.
 1938 ROLFE, M. S., 16 Chestnut Grove, Southend-on-Sea, Essex.
 1946 SEABY, MRS., 46 Baker St., Potters Bar, Middlesex.
 1926 SEABY, HERBERT ALLEN, ESQ., 65 Great Portland Street, London,
 W. 1.
 1945 †SEABY, MISS P., 65 Great Portland Street, London, W. 1.

- 1945 SEABY, P. J., ESQ., 65 Great Portland Street, London, W. 1.
 1933 SELLWOOD, P. H., ESQ., 34 Paddock Road, Newbury, Berks.
 1946 SHRIGLEY, MISS I., M.A., 5 Suffolk Road, Barnes, London, S.W. 13.
 1941 SIMPSON, S., ESQ., Spitchwick Manor, Poundsgate, Newton Abbot,
 Devon.
 1946 SLAYTER, W., ESQ., 63 West Way, Edgware, Middlesex.
 1946 SMITH, C. B., ESQ., Greensted, Ashley Road, Farnborough, Hants.
 1908 *SMITH, ELLIOTT, ESQ., Grand Avenue and Beach Street, Newburgh,
 N.Y., U.S.A.
 1946 SOMERVILLE, D., ESQ., 72 Rotherwood Avenue, Glasgow, W. 3.
 1946 SOUTH AFRICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, J. E. Miles, Esq., *Hon. Sec.*,
 25 Church Street, Woodstock, Cape Province, South Africa.
 1908 SOUTH AUSTRALIA, THE PUBLIC LIBRARY OF, c/o The Agent-General
 for Australia, British Industries House, Marble Arch, London, W. 1.
 1941 SPINK, DAVID F., ESQ., 5 King Street, St. James's, London, S.W. 1.
 1945 STEBBING, LT.-COL. N. A., Toll Cottage, Walton-on-the-Hill, Surrey.
 1945 STONE, H., ESQ., 14 Chase Court, Chase Road, Southgate, London,
 N. 14.
 1937 STRAND, A. C., ESQ., 14 Lismore Road, South Croydon, Surrey.
 1943 STREETER, E., ESQ., The Clock House, Church Street, Petworth,
 Sussex.
 1941 STUART, F. C., ESQ., Little Bybrook, Woolbrook, Sidmouth,
 S. Devon.
 1944 TADGELL, W., ESQ., Great Northern Hotel, Station Road, Cambridge.
 1903 TAFFS, HERBERT W., ESQ., M.B.E., 109 Foots Cray Road, Eltham,
 London, S.E. 9.
 1942 THEOBALD, O., ESQ., 59 High Street, Maidenhead, Berks.
 1946 THOMAS, T., ESQ., 2 Arthur Street, Blaengwynfi, Nr. Port Talbot,
 South Wales.
 1943 THOMPSON, J. CLIFFORD, ESQ., 16 King George V Avenue, King's
 Lynn, Norfolk.
 1946 THOMPSON, J. D. A., ESQ., Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
 1945 †TIDMARSH, R. S. S., 132 Kent House Road, Beckenham, Kent.
 1939 TIVY, H. F., ESQ., Holmfels, Stillorgan, Co. Dublin, Eire.
 1946 TURNER, W. B., ESQ., 2 Brassey Street, Chester.
 1904 VICTORIA, THE PUBLIC LIBRARY OF, Librarian, Melbourne, c/o
 Truslove and Hanson, 153 Oxford Street, London, W. 1.
 1931 VIDLER, LEOPOLD AMON, ESQ., The Old Stone House, Rye, Sussex.
 1922 WALES, THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF, Chief Librarian, Aberystwyth.
 1923 WALES, THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF, Cardiff, Director, Department
 of Archaeology.
 1944 *WALLACE, J., ESQ., The Manor House, Uppingham, Rutland.
 1918 WALLACE, WILLIAM GREENELL, ESQ., 61 East Avenue, Bournemouth.
 1938 WATERFIELD, P. G., ESQ., Bishops Hull House, Bishops Hull,
 Somerset.
 1903 WELLS, W. C., ESQ., 23 Oakley Square, London, N.W. 1.
 1945 *WEST, A. J., ESQ., Springfield, Bookham, Surrey.
 1946 WHETMORE, S. A. H., ESQ., 4 Sydney House, Bedford Park, W. 4.
 1937 WHITTON, C. A., ESQ., B.A., 27 Doddington Road, Wellingborough,
 Northants.
 1946 WILLIAMS, B., ESQ., 30 Beeleigh Road, Morden, Surrey.
 1945 WILSON, ARTHUR, ESQ., 37 Hartington Road, Stockton-on-Tees, Co.
 Durham.
 1906 WINCHESTER, THE PUBLIC LIBRARY OF, City Librarian, Winchester,
 Hants.

- 1939 WINSTANLEY, EDGAR J., ESQ., L.D.S., 32 Belsize Grove, London,
N.W. 3.
- 1937 WRIGHTSON, A. G., ESQ., O.B.E., 20 Brunswick Gardens, London, W. 8.
- 1909 YALE UNIVERSITY, New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A., c/o Messrs.
Edward G. Allen and Son, Limited, 14 Grape Street, Shaftesbury
Avenue, London, W.C. 2.
- 1930 YORKSHIRE PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY, Keeper, The Yorkshire
Museum, York.

THE STEPHEN MINT OF BRAN . . . : A NEW ATTRIBUTION

By F. ELMORE JONES

HITHERTO numismatists have only studied the Pipe Rolls of Henry II's reign for the light they shed on Henry II's own coins. This is perhaps surprising since the four-year overlap of coins bearing Stephen's name into the reign of his successor (from 1154 to 1158) has long been known.

The rolls commence in 1155-6, and therefore in the early ones one would quite expect the names of Stephen's moneyers to be mentioned.

A valuable paper on the subject of the Pipe Roll entries entitled "Historical Notes on the First Coinage of Henry II" by the late Major Carlyon-Britton was published in *Brit. Num. Journ.*, vol. ii, pp. 183-242 (1905).

It is clear, however, that the author assumed that all the seventy-five names of moneyers which he had extracted from the Pipe Rolls might be looked for on Henry II's coins; this at least is implied by the title of the paper.

This assumption is particularly surprising in view of the fact that the names in the Pipe Rolls include that of the moneyer responsible for an extraordinary and irregular coin of Stephen, well known to the author of the paper and one to whom reference is made therein, namely, Wakelin of Derby. As the author was aware, no other coin by that moneyer is known.

Subsequent writers both on Stephen's coinage and on Henry II's first issue have followed in Carlyon-Britton's footsteps, and it is clear that when the coins of Stephen's last type in the British Museum were catalogued, no eye was kept open for information which might be available from the Pipe Rolls of the succeeding reign.

This is apparent from Brooke's statement in the introduction to *Norman Kings* (p. cxliv) where in discussing the documentary material he says that "in the reign of Stephen we have no reference to the coinage and mint officials except the brief allusions to baronial issues".

I am indebted to Mr. Derek Allen for first drawing my attention to the fact that many, if not most, of the moneyers whose names are mentioned in the Pipe Rolls of Henry II were moneyers of Stephen's reign. He has also told me that in his opinion there was a clear sweep of moneyers in 1158, and that one should not expect to find the names of Stephen's moneyers continued on the early coins of Henry II.

If right, this latter point opens up a new field for research; it is fully borne out by the evidence of the coins, and means, in fact, that the evidence of the entries in the Henry II Pipe Rolls is just as indispensable to a study of the coinage of the latter part of Stephen's reign as it is to the first coinage of his successor.

A re-examination of Carlyon-Britton's paper in this light leads to interesting results. For example he gives the names of nine moneyers appearing in the Pipe Rolls of Henry II under Norfolk and Suffolk

who cannot be identified on "Tealby" coins, namely, Albold, Aluric, David, Geoffrey, Jordan, Joscelin, Osbert, Thort, and Wiger.

Three of these names are to be found in *Norman Kings* as Norwich moneyers in Stephen's last type (type VII), namely, Alfric, David, and Thor (*B.M.C.*, nos. 205, 222, and 207 respectively); one name, Geoffrey, appears under Thetford in the same type (*B.M.C.*, n^o. 215), and under Sudbury we get one coin of Stephen's last type reading . . . SEBERT (*B.M.C.*, no. 211) which must I think be the OSBERT of the Pipe Roll entry.

Albold was probably a Stephen moneyer—the Copenhagen Museum coin illustrated in *Norman Kings*, Pl. LV, 15 may be his, in which case he was an Ipswich moneyer. To my knowledge there is no other known Ipswich coin of that type. I have a Stephen type VII coin on which this name seems to be visible, but unfortunately it is far from certain, and the mint signature cannot be read.

We have therefore five (or possibly six) of these nine hitherto unidentified names now identified by the coins of Stephen.

I have analysed the seventy-five moneyers' names referred to in Carlyon-Britton's paper in *Brit. Num. Journ.* (loc. cit.) and obtained the following result:

Stephen names	.	.	.	17
Stephen and "Tealby"	.	.	.	4
"Tealby" names	.	.	.	29
Still unidentified	.	.	.	25
				—
				75

Were Stephen's type VII coins less rare than they are I am convinced the number of still unidentified names could be substantially reduced.

All this made me wonder whether there might be anything in the Pipe Rolls which would throw any light on the identity of the mint of BRAN . . . , only known from a few coins of Stephen's last type and a subject to which I have recently given a good deal of thought as I have been lucky enough to acquire one of these very rare coins myself.

When I asked Mr. Allen this question and mentioned that the names of the two known BRAN . . . moneyers were Orgar and Willem, I was delighted to get the reply that he definitely thought there *was* a clue in the rolls.

He was good enough to tell me that a moneyer named Orgar is recorded under Sussex in the Pipe Roll for 7 Henry II (1160-1) as having discharged an unexplained debt of £1 to the Crown by a payment to the Knights of Pevensey.

This led Mr. Allen to think that the mint of BRAN . . . should presumably be sought in Sussex.

Orgar's payment to the Knights of Pevensey need not be taken to imply any direct connexion between the location of his mint and Pevensey; it was quite normal at that time for payments to be made on behalf of the Exchequer to a third party.

It is clear from Carlyon-Britton's remarks on Orgar that he assumed this entry to relate to a Pevensey moneyer and consequently he thought that Pevensey should be expected to occur as a "Tealby" mint. In point of fact no "Tealby" coin of Pevensey is known and the name Orgar does *not* occur as a moneyer on any "Tealby" coins.

The fact that the name of Orgar's mint is not mentioned in the Pipe Roll entry is not unusual—the rolls were drawn up under counties, not towns, and it is the exception rather than the rule for mention to be made of the name of the moneyer's town. Very often this can be deduced from the evidence of the coins in conjunction with the name of the county under which the entry is made. 'Occasionally two counties are grouped together with one sheriff accounting for both, e.g. Bucks. and Beds., Norfolk and Suffolk.

Is it possible to find a place which shows whether Mr. Allen's surmise of a Sussex site for BRAN . . . is well founded? I hope to show later that it is possible and the place I am going to suggest for it is Bramber.

Brooke in *English Coins* gives the name of the mint as BRAN . . . and leaves it at that, as he had done earlier in his notes on the mints in *Norman Kings* (p. clxiii) where he affirms that its attribution is quite uncertain.

Clearly Brooke had little confidence in the late Mr. W. J. Andrew's attribution of the mint to Bradninch in Devon, formerly BRANE or BRANES (see *Numismatic Circular*, 1914, p. 632), which attribution is, so far as I can discover, the latest attempt at a solution of the problem.

At this point a description of the few known BRAN . . . coins should be given—they are all of Stephen's last type; B.M.C. type VII—the "Awbridge" Type. Two moneyers' names, Orgar and Willem, are known and details of the reading are:

1. *Obv.* + STIEFNE *Rev.* + ORGAR : ON : BRAN - - R. C. Lockett, Esq. *ex* Carlyon-Britton (lot 1,470), Capt. Wills (lot 391), and Drabble (lot 710) collections.

Described in the two former Sale Catalogues as probably unique. Brooke, however, in *Norman Kings*, mentions a second specimen from the same dies in Copenhagen Museum, which misses the same two letters of the mint name.

2. *Obv.* + STIEFNE ∴ *Rev.* + PILLEM : ON : BRAN
B.M.C., no. 181 and Pl. LV, 6.
My coin is from these dies.

3. Same *obv.* and probably same *rev.* reading, but a different pair of dies.
B.M.C., no. 182.

Reverting to the Bradninch attribution, Andrew based this on a reading of the mint name on the Orgar coin as BRAES, and supported it by the assumption that the Willem of the BRAN . . . coins was the same as the Launceston moneyer of that name who struck on Stephen's first type (and so far as is known that type only) at the Cornish mint,

it being presumed that Willem was brought from Launceston to BRANES to institute the mint there.

Unfortunately, although the BRA is perfectly clear, the last two letters on the Orgar coin (now in Mr. Lockett's collection) are illegible, and further, the second of Andrew's reasons for his attribution is not convincing. In fact the same argument applies in favour of a Sussex mint as a Willem also coined at Lewes in Stephen type I, and so far as is known that type only. We cannot be certain that Launceston was inactive during type VII, whereas Lewes *was* undoubtedly active throughout Stephen's reign, and the only moneyer recorded in type VII is Hunfrei.

Andrew's theory as to the opening of a new Stephen mint by a type I moneyer Willem therefore applies more forcibly to Sussex than it does to Cornwall.

As to the reading of the mint name on Orgar's coin Brooke (see *Norman Kings*, p. clxiii) thought the last two letters might be ME (which would fit very well with the attribution to Bramber) or NE; they are, however, completely illegible.

The earlier (Hawkins) attribution of BRAN . . . to Brampton in Hunts. may, I think, definitely be ruled out. Although there was a royal residence at Brampton in the reigns of Henry I and Stephen, and the name occurs not infrequently in charters, the place itself does not seem to have been of the importance we normally associate with mint towns.

There can be very little doubt that Brooke was justified in rejecting the attributions to Brampton and Bradninch, and that being so the reading BRAN . . remains one of the few Norman mints still unidentified.

We get no help from the Pipe Rolls as to the BRAN . . . moneyer Willem. This name is not particularly common on Stephen's coins, but it occurs throughout the reign at Norwich and on type I only at Canterbury, Carlisle, Launceston, Lewes, and Wilton.

The name Orgar occurs as a moneyer at London during the reigns of William II and Henry I in the last three types of the latter reign, and including the very rare variety of type XIV with a scallop shell in the reverse design which must associate that particular Orgar with the abbey of Reading. The name does *not* occur subsequently at London, and it occurs at only *one* mint in Stephen's reign, namely, BRAN . . .

In these circumstances the only coin which can be assigned to the Orgar of the Pipe Roll entry under Sussex is the BRAN . . . coin.

If it is right that this place should be sought in Sussex, then my suggestion is that it should be identified as the ancient borough of Bramber, once the site of a famous Norman castle and a place of considerable strategic importance.

Bramber was a borough by prescription and it returned members to Parliament from 23 Edward I (1295) up to the time of the passing of the Reform Bill.

It is situated about 1 mile south-east of Steyning, and reference to the *Victoria History of Sussex* shows that the castle, an old Saxon

stronghold, was renovated and rebuilt by William de Braose, a close friend of the Conqueror and the Sussex founder of the Duke of Norfolk's family.

At the time of the Domesday Survey it was one of the five Lordships of the county, although apparently not actually so mentioned by name, the others being Hastings, Pevensey, Lewes, and Arundel.

After the Conquest the importance of the castle as a strategic stronghold was greatly enhanced, and the author of the *Victoria History* considers it likely that Steyning was supplanted for military purposes at this period by the neighbouring position of Bramber.

Mr. H. H. King's comprehensive paper on the Steyning mint in *Brit. Num. Journ.*, vol. xxiv, p. 1, shows that the last known coin of that mint is of William II's last type. We may infer that it was closed at that time; at any rate no coins of Stephen, or for that matter Henry I, are known of it. This is important in view of the close proximity of the two places; it may well be that Bramber succeeded to the minting rights of Steyning.

The Domesday spelling of Bramber was BRE (M) BRE, a spelling which is by no means so unhelpful from the point of view of my attribution as it at first appears. Not only were these coins issued some seventy years after the Survey, by which time changes in the spelling of place-names had no doubt occurred, but there was considerable variation in spellings at any one time.

Domesday spellings are by no means always exactly repeated on Norman coins even in the early types. The following are instances obtained from data given in Brooke's *Norman Kings*:

Town	Domesday Book	Coins
Hythe	HEDE	HITHE
Leicester	LEDECESTRE	LEHRE &c.
Rhuddlan	ROELEN	RUDILI
Romney	ROMENEL	RUME
Shrewsbury	SCIROPESBERIE	SALOPES (on "Tealby" coins)

The letters A and E seem to have been more or less interchangeable in some instances during the Norman period, e.g.:

Barnstaple	{ BARD	William I
	{ BERD, &c.	Henry I
Wareham & Warwick	{ PER, &c.	William I
	{ PAR, &c.	Henry I

and on "Tealby" coins we find the name William spelt either WILLEM or WILLAM.

As to the letter N in the mint name, Bramber may well be another instance of N being the Norman equivalent of M in the present-day spelling of a place-name. In the case of Pembroke the last letter of the mint name on the Stephen coin in the British Museum (*B.M.C.*, no. 88A) reads N, not M as given in *Norman Kings*.

Northampton is NORHAN at this period, and if Mr. D. F. Allen's attribution of the "Tealby" coins reading PAIN to Pembroke is right we get the same feature on "Tealby" coins as well. Incidentally

Pembroke is a further instance of the use of E and A alternately in the spelling of a place-name at this period.

Prima facie, therefore, I consider that a good case can be made out for the acceptance of Bramber as a Norman mint. The attribution is, I suggest, the best possible in the light of the known coins—in the main, however, it stands or falls on the assumption that the Orgar of BRAN . . . is the Orgar of the Pipe Roll entry.

Whatever the true explanation of its identity may be, it seems clear that the mint of BRAN . . . only remained active for a very limited duration. It is unlikely to have been a mint under Henry I, and it is almost certain to have been closed with numerous other Stephen mints on the introduction of the Tealby coinage. I do not exclude the possibility of its having been a mint in the earlier issues of Stephen's reign.

Owing to the absence of any large finds the coins of Stephen's last issue are very rare, and they are considerably rarer of the northern mints than those of the south. For example, there is only one York coin of this type in the *B.M.C.* and not a single specimen of Lincoln. This, no doubt, is due to about half the fifty or so coins of this type in the Museum having come from a Hampshire find, viz. Awbridge near Romsey (1903), which was, I believe, the provenance of the Orgar coin.

I have always been attracted by old castles, and I should like to feel that I have been instrumental in adding a fourth to the present list of three mints established in the then newly built Norman strongholds, viz. Pembroke, Pevensey, and Castle Rising, even if the fourth is to-day little more than a site. I trust any partiality of mine in this respect has not influenced my interpretation of the numismatic and historical evidence adduced in support of Bramber's claims for inclusion.

In conclusion I wish to acknowledge the help and advice which I have received from Mr. D. F. Allen in preparing this paper, and without which it could not have been written.

THE DESIGN OF EDWARD III'S SILVER COINAGE

By D. F. ALLEN

FEW members of this Society will ever have imagined that the design of the English medieval groat and half-groat was anything but English. It certainly came as a surprise to me when I recently found what seems conclusive proof that it was copied from Flanders. We are accustomed to think that in the Middle Ages it was our coins which were copied on the other side of the Channel, but on this occasion we must recognize that it is we who did the copying.

The story starts with the International Numismatic Congress held in London in 1936. Professor Victor Tournear read a paper before the Congress in the course of which he assigned some fourteenth-century demi-gros of Antwerp and Brussels, which closely resemble those of Edward III, to a date between 1338 and 1340. I do not remember that anyone challenged Professor Tournear's theory at that meeting, but as soon as his speech was published in the *Transactions* of the Congress¹ British numismatists were not slow to notice that he had attributed a "copy" to a date ten years or more before the first issue of the coin it was copying. Professor Tournear, who was aware of what he was proposing, had in fact challenged British numismatists to find an English half-groat struck before 1338.

This challenge did not go unanswered. The "Editors" of the *British Numismatic Journal* included a short anonymous notice in their next number which pointed out that something must be wrong, since the English mint accounts proved beyond all possible doubt when the first groats and half-groats of Edward III were struck, namely, in 1351.² The "Editors", who, it can safely be revealed, consisted principally of Mr. Blunt, now our President, therefore invited Professor Tournear to re-examine the evidence. Professor Tournear was not shaken and said so firmly in reply.

Since the coins which Professor Tournear was discussing are preserved in the Cabinet des Médailles at Brussels, I took the opportunity of a recent visit to the Belgian capital to re-examine the evidence for myself. I came to the satisfactory conclusion that both Professor Tournear and Mr. Blunt were right, so far as they went. The solution lies in another direction.

It is a pity that in his original article Professor Tournear paid particular attention to the relatively common demi-gros of Antwerp and Brussels, which do not bear on them any name or other characteristic by which they can be easily or accurately dated, when there exists a very similar but precisely datable type. Professor Tournear mentioned these remarkable coins, of which I found two specimens in

¹ Prof. V. Tournear, "Le Prétendu Monnayage d'Édouard III en Brabant", *Transactions of the International Numismatic Congress, London, 1936*, pp. 334-40.

² C. E. Blunt, *Brit. Num. Journ.*, vol. xxiii, 1938, pp. 165-6.

Brussels,¹ but only *en passant*. The following is a description of the coins, both of which are reproduced below:



Obv. + MONETA * NR * T * NMVRDEN'. Normal Edward III half-groat type with crowned head facing in tressure of eight arches with trefoils at the junctions. Bust more definitely truncated than on English coins and with costume clearly indicated. Star on breast.

Rev. + I: REX: BOEM: TD: EPS: LEOB: GUILL: CO: SIG: NVN: CRV: CUS. Cross and pellets of normal English half-groat, but cross does not intersect outer circle.

The two coins weigh 26 and 27 grains respectively.

There is no doubt whatever that this type, struck at Namur, is the outcome of a monetary alliance between three rulers of the Low Countries, John the Blind, Count of Luxembourg, who died on the field of Crécy in 1346, Adolph de la Marck, who ceased to be Bishop of Liège in 1345, and William I, Count of Namur, who did not enter upon his heritage until 1337. Thus there is an absolute limit of 1337 to 1345 for the issue of the coin. 1345 is still six years before the date on which Edward III's half-groat was first struck in London.

There is no perceptible difference in style, type, weight, fabric, lettering, or any other of the ponderables or imponderables of numismatics between the coins of this monetary alliance and the anonymous coins of Antwerp and Brussels which Professor Tourneur has described. The *Nostra* in the legend of the Antwerp coins reflects the language of the Namur coins and it is, I suppose, possible that this refers to an extension of the alliance to cover Antwerp and perhaps Brussels too.² Everything suggests that the coins of Antwerp and Brussels are contemporary with those of Namur and thus also ante-date Edward III's half-groat.

¹ Bernays and Vamierus, *Histoire num. du Comté puis Duché de Luxembourg*, Brussels, 1910, p. 172. Three specimens are mentioned as being in the Brussels collection and are stated to be the only ones known. I was only able to trace two specimens there, which probably came from the same obverse but different reverse dies.

² The coins of Antwerp are easily the commonest of the group. There are specimens of both the Antwerp and the Brussels types in the British Museum, but they are not yet available for study. There are five specimens of the Antwerp and two of the Brussels coins in the Belgian Cabinet des Médailles. Some of the Antwerp coins appear to be of poor silver.

It is worth examining the design of the coins in detail with this in mind. While there is superficially a very close resemblance between the coins and the English half-groat, there are nevertheless differences. There is no feature about them which could not have been copied from one or other of the contemporary coins of France or Flanders, some of which themselves were copies of the English sterling. Indeed, to anyone who is familiar with the minute differences in expression between the faces on the various imitations of the sterling, it will be noticeable that the face on the half-groats has more in common with that on, say, the sterlings of John the Blind at Luxembourg than it has with that on the half-groats of Edward III. Further, the bust wears a shirt and has a star on the breast, common features on the sterlings of Flanders, and unknown on the early groats or half-groats of Edward III. The reverse consists of an English sterling enclosed in an outer circle containing a familiar French and feudal coin legend. It is not the same as the reverse of the English half-groat, where the cross cuts the outer legend as well as the inner.

Although the coins of the three mints are very similar in appearance, there is a surprising range in their weights. They vary between 26 and 34 grains, and the quality of the silver is uneven. I am not familiar enough with Flemish numismatics to go fully into this subject. At the time of their issue the correct weight of the English sterling was $22\frac{1}{4}$ grains, so that, if the coins were intended to represent $1\frac{1}{2}$ unworn English sterlings, their correct weight should have been $33\frac{3}{8}$ grains or a fraction less than the heaviest of them. The Namur coins, which are in very fine condition, weigh 27 and 28 grains respectively; if they were intended to represent $1\frac{1}{2}$ English sterlings, then the weight of the sterling must have been taken as about 18 grains. This was the actual weight adopted shortly afterwards for Edward III's sterling and may therefore represent the official view as to the average weight of the sterling then current in England. If the coins were intended to represent double sterlings, then they must have been based on extremely light continental varieties. The English half-groat, when first struck, weighed 36 grains.

Although much of the design is built up from elements which were the common stock-in-trade at that time of all European die sinkers, it would not be improbable if these Flemish demi-gros borrowed their main motifs from the English sterling, because their weight was intended to be related to that of the English sterling. In any case they owe nothing to the long-forgotten groat of Edward I. The only other denomination of the same monetary alliance is a gros of an entirely different system, the gros tournois; the type is a reproduction of the normal types of that coin with a Flemish lion in place of the usual castle.¹ It looks as if the monetary alliance, lying at the cross-roads, decided to strike one coin on the English and one on the French system.

¹ Bernays and Vamierus, loc. cit.

It is interesting to compare the coins of this group with a slightly earlier gros of Cambrai. Nicholas de Fontayne, Bishop from 1248 to 1273, struck a gros, the obverse of which depicts a bishop's head somewhat on the lines of an English sterling, while the reverse represents an English Long-Cross penny enclosed in an outer circle with a religious legend.¹ The weight seems to have been double the sterling. Similarly Archbishop Waleran of Cologne, 1332-49, ordered a gros in 1342, the obverse of which was approximately of English type with modifications suitable to an archbishop, but contained within a tressure.² Mr. Blunt kindly drew my attention to this coin. His specimen weighs 58½ grains, or nearly three English sterlings. Such instances can be multiplied; e.g. Louis IV of Bavaria, 1313-47, struck a double sterling at Aix-la-Chapelle, the weight of which agrees closely with the Flanders group.³

I am too ignorant of the intricate history of Flanders at this period to propose a precise historical occasion for the coinage of these Flemish demi-gros, but it is clear that the date hitherto suggested for the series by all Belgian numismatists, namely, 1338-40,⁴ is based on the assumption that the coins copy an already existing English coin of Edward III, and must therefore be associated with Edward III's visit to Flanders between those years. If the coins are not copies, this argument falls to the ground. Since the three associated seigneurs were at one time or another allied against the English side in the sparring for position before the outbreak of the Hundred Years War, Edward's presence on the Continent is most unlikely to have influenced them in the choice of coin types. The selection probably owed more to economic than political influences.

If we are to seek a connexion between the coins and Edward's visit to Flanders, then it is rather to be found in the fact that Edward or his advisers saw the use which was being made there of the already traditional English coin bust and decided to adopt it when, some ten years later, he introduced his new coinage. That is a possible explanation, but I think it is still more likely that the design is to be attributed to one of the workers brought to England to prepare the new coinage, who had himself perhaps taken part in the coinage of the monetary alliance or of Brussels or Antwerp. Is the Henry de Brisele who was associated with John de Chichester as joint Master of the Mint in London for the purpose of striking this coinage in 1351 really a Henry of Brussels?

If this note brings home to some English numismatists the international character of their subject, and the complete interdependence of the coinage of neighbouring countries, it will have served its pur-

¹ Illustrated, for instance, in Dieudonné, *Manuel de Num. Française*, Tome IV^e, Paris, 1936, Pl. IV, 12.

² Jesse, *Quellenbuch zur Münz- und Geldgeschichte des Mittelalters*, p. 80, no. 201.

³ Cappe, *Die Münzen der deutschen Kaiser und Könige des Mittelalters*, 1848, vol. i, p. 172, no. 787, Pl. XII, 191.

⁴ The previous discussions are summarized in Prof. V. Tournier, loc. cit., and full references given.

pose. We obtain a limited and indeed distorted picture if we study English coins in complete detachment from their European context. Even if in an instance such as this the consequence is a slight prick to our national vanity, there is no doubt that the principal direction in which progress can now be made in the study of the medieval English coins is in their relationships overseas.

THE COINAGES OF EDWARD IV AND OF HENRY VI (RESTORED)

By C. E. BLUNT and C. A. WHITTON

Continued from p. 59

LIGHT COINAGE, SILVER, 1464-70

Type V. I.M. Rose

THE light coinage was introduced by an indenture dated 13 August 1464. Particulars of the legislation involved and of its implications are given on p. 10. In the silver the weight of the groat was reduced from 60 to 48 grains. The effect in the case of the gold was not to change the weight but to increase the value of the noble from 6s. 8d. to 8s. 4d. It follows therefore that the nobles issued under this indenture will be similar in weight and style to those of the heavy coinage, and form a group apart from the "light coinage" of gold which it was found necessary to introduce under a new indenture on 6 March 1465. But the complication involved is very slight, for only one such noble is known to have survived.

Under this last indenture the noble was replaced by the ryal of 10s., weighing 120 grains, with its fractions, the half and quarter. The indenture, it should be stated, does not use the term "ryal", but calls the coin the "new noble of gold". Also as the unit of 6s. 8d. for the gold coin had so long been familiar, another new coin was ordered, to be called the angel "running for" 6s. 8d., with its fraction the angelet or half-angel. The angel was to weigh 80 grains.

The depreciation of the coinage had the desired effect of attracting bullion to the mint, and the accounts show that during the two years from September 1464 to September 1466 12,389 pounds of gold and 55,334 pounds of silver were coined. This covers the period of the Rose I.M. (type V) and the Sun (type VI). It is not surprising, therefore, that the groats of these two issues are among the commonest of the reign, but the rarity of gold coins of type V makes it evident that gold did not begin to come into the mint in any appreciable quantity until the Rose-marked issue was exhausted.

It is the silver, however, which is to be our immediate concern, and we shall here consider the coins, particularly the groats, of the royal mints; the gold, save for some necessary mention, will be reserved until later.

Of the silver coins of type V, Brooke has shown that the earliest varieties were struck from old, heavy dies, and, in addition, from new dies having the characteristics of the heavy coinage. But he seems to be in error in supposing that such dies were used continuously until the new *gold* coins were struck in July 1465. The profusion and variety of the existing Rose-marked groats in their final form, which has fewer characteristics of the heavy dies, show that these coins began to

be struck some months before that date. It should be borne in mind that the indenture of March 1465 concerned the gold coinage only; save for mere formal mention, it did not affect the silver at all.

Silver.

Groats. Wt. 48 grains. The wide variety of these groats demands some special notice. They are of two main groups. At first they reproduced the last heavy groats with annulets by the bust, but these were soon replaced by coins of the earlier style with quatrefoils by the bust. The reason for this reversion to quatrefoils is probably not far to seek. The arrival for recoinage of large numbers of the common Calais groats with annulets by the bust, which were doubtless still in circulation, was a reminder to the mint authorities of the unwisdom of retaining any longer symbols so closely associated with the deposed Henry VI.

We have divided the coins into four groups (See **Pl. IV, 1-7**):

Va, coins with annulets by the bust.

Vb, Vc, and Vd, coins with quatrefoils by the bust.

Va. The coins with annulets by the bust were at first struck from heavy dies of type IV, but their unusually large size made them unsuitable for the reduced flan of a groat of 48 grains, and they were soon replaced by slightly smaller, close copies of type IV, which reproduced all the characteristics of the heavy dies, including the lettering. The later coins among these copies show a smaller lettering. A mule is known with a reverse of *Vc*.

Vb. Although some of the coins with quatrefoils by the bust which appear to be of this issue are nothing more than clipped heavy groats, there is no doubt that genuine light coins were struck from heavy dies of type III also, perhaps simultaneously with the earliest coins of type *Va* with annulets by the bust. Such coins are rare, however, and once more it is clear that the large inappropriate dies were soon replaced by slightly smaller ones, which though varying in style yet all embodied one or more characteristics of the heavy coinage. Some retained the old initial marks, the large Rose of the obverse and the small angular Rosette of the reverse of the heavy dies. Perhaps not all these pieces are genuine. Even in coins of good silver we sometimes find an arresting symmetry in the design, and particularly in the lettering which is quite abnormal. Such a coin is that illustrated in *Num. Chron.*, 1909, Pl. XI, 2, but pieces exist of very similar style to this which are certainly base. Others showed an entirely new style of coin with a new neat small Rose as initial mark and small lettering. One rare example of this group omits the quatrefoils by the bust but inserts one at the end of the obverse legend; another reads **GRANQIA** in full. Some of the reverses are remarkable for cross arms of particularly small dimensions. They show the new small lettering, but there are varieties of detail: some are quite plain, some have an 'Eye' after **TNS**. Coins with an extra pellet in one quarter are regarded as mules, having a reverse of *Vc*.

All coins of *Va* and *Vb* have large fleurs on the cusps, though the

heavy dies of type III which were used naturally show the small trefoil of pellets on the breast. On the other hand, a large fleur on the breast is an infallible sign of a new light die.

Vc. With this group the dimensions of the dies become fixed; the reverses being slightly larger than their immediate predecessors. They are among the neatest and best executed of all the silver coins of Edward IV. They retain the neat small lettering, of which P2 is an example (see the folding page of drawings at the end of this paper), and some of them add a rose on the breast. A new departure was made on some coins in the fleuring on the cusps, when the old large fleur was replaced by a small trefoil of pellets. We have no clue as to when this replacement took place, and it may be that the two styles represent parallel issues: in each case there may be on the breast a rose, a trefoil or a fleur, or nothing. There is always an extra pellet in one quarter of the reverse.

The coins of these three groups, Va, Vb, and Vc, are all rather scarce, and the stress of the financial crisis, and the king's eagerness, by a rapid output, to turn it to his political advantage, are perhaps reflected in these various stages of improvisation and experiment. In the next group we shall see the groats in their final form, under which they were produced *en masse*.

Vd. This final form is that of the common coins with large fleurs on the cusps and an extra pellet in one quarter of the reverse. It inaugurated the period of greatest activity in the recoinage ordered by the indenture of 1464, and the style of the groat now adopted, with large fleurs and quatrefoils by the bust, remained unchanged until the activity began to diminish with type VIII (Crown/Sun). The group inaugurated also the use of the well-known rugged fount of letters (P3 is an example) which is found on all groats from now until the issue of type XVIII in the king's second reign. It remains to add that muling is apt to occur at any period, usually between one group and the next.

Bristol, Coventry, and Norwich. The Rose appears as initial mark on the reverse only—which surely cannot be due to chance alone—of the earliest groats from these three mints, which we know were opened in March 1465. As the Sun appears on the obverse of all of them, it is evident that the period of type V came to an end about then. Further reference is made to these coins in our remarks on lettering on p. 22. There exist also certain Coventry and Norwich groats with I.M. Rose on both sides, but none of these is quite above suspicion. The dies are at least not of normal London manufacture, though they perhaps postulate a model from London. The genuine coins have the quatrefoils by the bust and the letter **n** or **a** on the breast: those of Bristol have **B**. A Coventry groat has been recorded (*Brit. Num. Journ.* ii. 480) showing an incongruous **B** on the breast.

Half-groats. Wt. 24 grains. These coins were struck at London and Canterbury: a coin exists also of Bristol muled with the next issue.

Those of London are exceedingly rare. They correspond with the

groats in being struck in the first place from heavy dies, with annulets by the neck. Brooke held these to be the only coins struck with the I.M. Rose, but another coin is now known with this initial mark, from the Webb collection (now Mr. Lockett's), with quatrefoils by the neck and an extra pellet in one quarter of the reverse, almost certain evidence of this issue though there is no reverse initial mark. Mr. Lockett has a half-groat, moreover, with obverse initial mark Sun and a similar though not identical reverse die; this is presumably a mule with the same issue. There is a similar coin in the British Museum (Pl. VII, 1 and 2).

The Canterbury coins assignable to type V were struck by Archbishop Bouchier: the details are fully described in the lists. They have I.M. Pall on the obverse, and Pall, no mark, or Rose on the reverse, and show Bouchier's heraldic knot below the bust and a "spur" in one quarter of the reverse. The earlier obverses have large fleurs on the breast, but these soon change to small trefoils. The coins are fairly abundant, and some pieces have a saltire in the fork of the I.M. Pall on the obverse. This mark, however, may occur on coins where it is invisible from their being ill-centred or clipped. What are presumably the earlier reverses show P3 with the prolonged serif.

Pence. Wt. 12 grains. Pence are known of London, York, and Durham. All show the initial mark on the obverse only, but the coins are usually so much worn that it is seldom visible.

The London penny with I.M. Rose and annulets by the bust is an exceedingly rare coin and is struck from heavy dies. It is additionally interesting as affording one of the rare instances of actual die identity between light and heavy coins. We have already illustrated the two pieces together; the heavy coin is Mr. Lockett's; the light coin from the same obverse die is in the Fitzwilliam Museum (Pl. II, 7 and 8).

The coins of York and Durham are described on pp. 34-41 and pp. 47-52.

Halfpence. Wt. 6 grains. There are halfpence of London only. Brooke somewhat loosely described them as struck from heavy dies, and a light coin is known showing actual die identity with a heavy one, but most of the coins are certainly struck from new light dies. These pieces have crosses by the bust; none with annulets have yet been identified for certain though they may exist. All coins have I.M. Rose and read **DI GRN**. One coin appears to have a trefoil stop on the obverse.

Types VI-XI

We have discussed type V in some detail and treated all denominations in silver together, partly for its value as a connecting link with the heavy coinage and partly to show at the outset the launching of the light coinage as a whole. In presenting the remainder of the silver series of the first reign (types VI-XI) it has seemed to us to make for clarity if each denomination is treated in turn and its development shown. The initial marks provide the basis of the classification

throughout, but it will be noticed that other details, such as the fleurs and the marks beside the bust, are not consistent as between the groats and the smaller coins. This is no doubt in part due to the restricted space on the latter.

Groats (See **Pls. IV, V, VI, and VIII**).

The initial marks on the groats are shown in condensed tabular form below. Variations, especially on the York coins, are more fully enumerated in the lists.

Type	London	Coventry	Norwich	Bristol	York
VI	Sun/Sun	Sun/Sun	Sun/Sun	Sun/Sun	Sun/Sun
VII	Crown/Crown	—	—	Crown/Crown	Lis/Crown or Lis
VIII	Crown or Sun and Crown/Sun	—	—	Crown/Sun	Sun or Lis/Sun or Lis
IX	Crown or Rose and Crown/Rose	—	—	—	—
X	LCF/Sun	—	—	Sun/Sun	Lis/Sun
XI	LCF/LCF ¹	—	—	—	Lis/Lis

Type VI. The London groats have the I.M. Sun on both sides. Quatrefoils by the bust are the general rule, but are omitted on one die. The large fleurs on the cusps continue throughout this type. Type VI is found muled both ways with type V, but it is curious that some of the reverse dies of type V used for this purpose omit the extra pellet so characteristic of the type, whereas occasionally the reverse dies of VI in these mules insert the pellet. Among the mules V/VI are the scarce coins from obverse dies prepared for Coventry and subsequently altered by striking a fleur over the α to which reference has already been made.

The true coins of VI present a number of minor variations, most noteworthy of which is, perhaps, the frequent occurrence of a lis after **QIVITVS**. On a coin of this type discussed in this *Journal* (vol. i, p. 378 and Pl. no. 12) there is a rose on the king's sinister breast. We have recently seen this coin and it seems likely that the rose is a later and unauthorized addition. The similar occurrence of a rose on a solitary groat of Richard III in the Grantley Sale (lot 1462) is perhaps comparable.

At the provincial mints the mule VI/V is found at Bristol, Coventry, and Norwich. On the coins of type VI, which are also found at York, the initial mark is the same (Sun) as on the London coins, and the large fleurs on the tressure and the quatrefoils are also found. The presence of a lis before **VILLT** on one or two Bristol coins is to be compared with the lis after **QIVITVS** at London, and, as at London, a few rare Bristol groats omit the quatrefoils beside the bust. One York groat has the α (for **EBORACVM**) on the king's breast struck over a fleur, which suggests that a die originally prepared for London was altered for use at York.

The lettering on groats of type VI generally includes R3, but early

¹ Long Cross Fitchy.

dies, particularly those found muled with type V, may show R₁, R₂, or R₃ (see drawings at the end.)

Type VII. The London groats of this type have the Crown as initial mark on both sides save for a few reverse dies which omit it. Similarly quatrefoils by the bust are the general rule, though one obverse die omits them. Nearly at the end of this type a change was made in the form taken by the fleuring on the cusps of the tressure. Hitherto except for the coins referred to in type V (p. 132) the fleurs had been large. On certain rare coins of type VII, which must be the last of the series, these large fleurs are replaced by trefoils, smaller in size and quite distinctive (see drawings, Figs. 4 and 5). One of these (Mr. L. A. Lawrence) has a curious reverse which shows the Crown after POSVI, (Pl. VIII, 21). This change in the decoration of the cusps is important as it provides one of the surest guides in the classification of the provincial groats, the initial marks on which from now on frequently differ from those used at the capital.

The stops which had hitherto generally been saltires continue to be so, but on certain rare coins lis are found throughout, and more rarely still, trefoils. The latter, as will be seen, come into general use in later issues. When Mr. Walters wrote on the coinage of Edward IV in *Num. Chron.*, 1909, he put forward the theory that dies with lis stops on the obverse were prepared for Calais but not sent there. He knew of none with these stops in the outer legend of the reverse. As has already been shown, the search for Calais coins of Edward IV was based on the fallacious argument that mention of Calais in the appointment of Masters of the Mint presupposed its activity. In the case of the coins in question the discovery of a groat with lis stops on the reverse coupled with the mint-name of London can be said to dispose of the attribution of such coins to Calais.

Mules have been found of London with obv. VI, rev. VII (Sun/Crown), but not, so far as we know, the opposite combination. Such a mule, if discovered, would have the same initial marks (Crown/Sun) as a true coin of type VIII, but would be distinguishable by the absence of the quatrefoil on the breast which always appears on obverses of type VIII.

Of the true coins little further need be said, but mention must be made of a curious groat of good style, a specimen of which is illustrated in the Walters Sale catalogue (1913), lot 426. Although generally of type VII, it is peculiar in several ways. The king's name reads EDWARD and the obverse legend ends RRRNQV. On the reverse there is no initial mark, the outer legend begins over DON in the inner, and is divided up in a manner not found on other coins. The lettering is abnormal, notably the X in REX. The weight of the Walters specimen is given as 46.4 grains, which is not far from the full weight of 48 grains. One or two other specimens of this coin occur, one with I.M. a crude form of Lis showing a reverse of the York mint; the reading RRRNQVS is also found. The abnormal features make it unlikely that the coins were struck by the usual authority, and though the

good weight at first sight makes forgery seem unlikely, it should be remembered that illicit coins paid no mint charges. One somewhat speculative view advanced is that these coins were struck by Edward during his exile in 1470-1 [Pl. IV, 12 and VI, 2].

The provincial mints of Coventry and Norwich had by now closed and the only royal mints beside London are, apart from Canterbury where groats were not struck, Bristol and York: The groats of Bristol have, like the London coins, the Crown as initial mark on both sides, and like them change the fleuring of the cusps during the issue of the type from large fleurs to small trefoils. Quatrefoils are consistently found by the bust. A number of minor varieties are shown in the lists. Lis and trefoil stops occur as at London, but Bristol in addition employs pellet stops on the obverse. Various spellings of the mint-name are found, but it is clear that any attempt to base a classification on this feature must fail. Mules are found with type VI both ways. One obverse with **B** on the breast has a London reverse, but imitations of this type exist also.

The York groats of type VII differ from the London coins in the initial mark, but correspond in the subsidiary marks—the quatrefoils by the bust and the large fleurs, subsequently changing to trefoils, on the cusps of the tressure. On what are probably the earliest groats (VIIa) the initial mark is a Lis on the obverse coupled with a Crown on the reverse. On VIIb the initial mark is Lis on both sides. On one coin it is found struck over a Crown on the reverse. Type VIIc is marked by the new small trefoils on the cusps. No mules are found between VI and VII at York, but mules occur between VIIa and VIIc.

A curious variant on London coins of both VII and VIII is **MEVW** for **MEVM**, a spelling also found in the second reign. The lettering on Type VII shows R4 save for a few London reverses muled with VI which may show R3.

Type VIII. With this type begins the practice at London of using a combination of initial marks. Hitherto the same mark had served on both sides of the coin, but with the exhaustion of the three marks which Edward IV seems peculiarly to have favoured, the Rose, the Sun, and the Crown, the practice grew up of combining them, a procedure which would of course provide suitable new pyx-marks.

In type VIII, which like the two preceding types is extremely plentiful, the combination takes the form of the use of the Crown on the obverse and the Sun on the reverse. On one or two very rare coins, which must be early in the series as they are found on mules with type VII, the double initial mark Sun and Crown is found on the obverse. A similar practice will be noted in type IX.

The special feature of type VIII which, as we have already noted, would serve to distinguish it from mules of VII/VI [Pl. IV, 13] or VII/VIII is the quatrefoil on the king's breast. The fleurs on the tressure are now small trefoils, except on a few early coins where the old large fleurs are still found. This is curious since the transition from the one type of

fleurings to the other occurred at the end of the preceding type. It suggests that the change was a matter of convenience rather than part of the privy-mark system for the pyx trials. Very occasionally the fleurs are omitted altogether, a feature also noted on type VI. It is useful to recall, then, that at all three mints, London, Bristol, and York, either large fleurs or small trefoils may occur on types VII and VIII.

An important change in the stops occurs in type VIII. On the earlier coins the saltires persist, but later, on the obverse especially, the use of trefoils becomes general. On the reverse both kinds are found, the saltires being occasionally accompanied by a pellet, a feature noted on Bristol groats of type VII. This transition from saltire to trefoil stops is of value in classifying the provincial groats.

Another change which occurs in type VIII is the revival of the practice, dormant since type V, of sometimes inserting and sometimes omitting the fleurs to the cusps over the crown. This became a more or less permanent feature until the end of Edward IV's reign, and probably beyond, and perhaps had long been part of the privy-mark system, since it was known in Edward III's time.

At London mules are found both ways with type VII.

At Bristol the initial marks obv. Crown, rev. Sun correspond with those of London, and the cusps have small trefoils save on mules with an obverse of VII when they have large fleurs. Quatrefoils by the bust, however, clearly show where the coins should be placed.

At York two combinations of initial mark are found as in type VII. The coins which we place at the beginning of this type, on account of their being muled with type VII, have I.M. Sun on obverse and reverse (type VIIIa). The subsidiary features correspond with those of London. Type VIIIa is found muled with VIIIb which has I.M. Lis on both sides, and maintains the quatrefoils by the bust coupled with the small trefoils on the cusps. The coins of VIIIb present a number of variants (*vide* the lists), notable among which is the occurrence of overstruck initial marks. On the obverse the Lis is sometimes found struck over a Crown and on the reverse over a Sun. On one coin the overstruck initial marks are found on both sides. The overstruck reverse dies are easy to account for since they are those of the preceding sub-type. We have not, however, met any groats of York with I.M. Crown on the *obverse* from which these dies could have been altered, nor can they have been London dies of type VIII altered for use at York or there would be traces of the quatrefoil under the ϵ on the king's breast. Whatever the explanation, their place in the series seems reasonably assured by the subsidiary marks on the obverse. The warning may be added that the overstruck Lis is often faint, creating the illusion that the Crown is the only initial mark.

The lettering of type VIII, like that of type VII, generally shows R4 but a few York groats show R5, while one London obverse die (FRANCIS) employs smaller lettering.

Type IX. The groats of this type are of such rarity that we have

hesitated to treat it as a separate type. The fact, however, that its features are so distinctive and that it is found muled with both types VIII and X have led us to do so, and it seems possible that it may have been introduced shortly before the new indenture with Hastings in March 1469, and may have had to be brought prematurely to a close in consequence.

The feature of the type is again a combination of initial marks, this time of the Crown and the Rose. On very rare groats the two are found side by side on the obverse coupled with a reverse of type VIII, or in one case with type VII. The true coins have in all cases the quatrefoils which are found by the bust for almost the last time, and the fleurs to the tressure are the small trefoils. The reading **LONDON** for **LONDON** which sometimes occurs is probably not an accident since it is recorded on different dies.

An interesting feature is the appearance on another coin of the small lettering just noted on type VIII and sometimes found on type X. On the obverse of type IX the lettering otherwise shows R4; the reverse, however, shows the new B-like R, R5.

No groats of the provincial mints can be associated with type IX.

Type X. These groats are fairly abundant but less plentiful than those of types V to VIII. They continue the practice of combining two initial marks, now the Long Cross Fitchy on the obverse and the Sun on the reverse. The fleurs on the tressure are again the small trefoils. The marks by the bust, except for two abnormal dies on one of which they are quatrefoils and on the other saltires, were now changed to trefoils. The change is important, as we shall see, in helping to classify the provincial groats. Soon, however, the trefoils were discarded, and we have the first forerunners of the type with no marks by the bust which was to prevail throughout Henry's restoration and the greater part of Edward's second reign. We have called the two sub-types *Xa*, with trefoils by the bust, and *Xb*, with no marks. A few rare mules are known between *Xa* and type IX; they have obv. I.M. Long Cross Fitchy and rev. I.M. Rose, some again showing the reading **LONDON**.

A peculiar feature of type *Xa* is that a few groats show on the obverse the smaller lettering to which we have just referred (a similar ryal is also known). These coins read **DEI**, rarely **DI GRN** and generally show a lengthened form of the word **FRANC**. On all other coins the well-known B-like R, R5, is one of the characteristics of the type. It serves to prevent any confusion with reverses of other types which bear the I.M. Sun.

The stops are varied and in one sense peculiar. On both *Xa* and *Xb* both saltires and trefoils are found—it is difficult to say which are earlier or whether they are contemporary. On some obverse dies of both *Xa* and *Xb*, moreover, mixed saltires and trefoils are found. Other dies, both obverse and reverse, show no stops at all.

Both at Bristol and York coins were struck of this type. At Bristol the initial mark is the Sun on both sides, and at York Lis on obverse

Once again, as with the groats, the basis of the classification is the initial marks: the subordinate marks, that is, the ornaments beside the bust and on the cusps of the tressure, however, do not follow quite the same pattern as on the groats. Furthermore, on the provincial half-groats the mint-letter does not appear on the king's breast save at York, and even here its appearance is the exception rather than the rule—the precise opposite of the practice on the groats. The coins known are represented broadly by the following table, though type IX at London is doubtful:

Type	London	Coventry	Norwich	Bristol	York	Canter. Eccles.	Canter. Royal
VI	Sun/—	Sun/Sun	Sun/Sun	Sun/Sun	Sun/Sun	Pall/Sun	—
VII	Crown/Crown	—	—	Crown/Crown	Lis/Lis	Pall/Pall	Crown/Crown
VIII	Crown/Sun	—	—	Crown/Sun	Lis/Lis	—	Crown/Sun
IX	Crown/Rose(?)	—	—	—	—	—	Rose/Rose
X	LCF/Sun	—	—	—	Lis/Lis	—	—
XI	(No coins known of any mint)						

Type VI. This type is almost too rare to generalize upon. The London coin has quatrefoils by the bust and large fleurs on the cusps, though there are none on the breast or over the crown. The two specimens we know (1. British Museum, 2. Mr. R. C. Lockett) show that the coin is properly a mule with type V, since, though the reverse initial mark is absent, there is a pellet in the **QIVI** quarter. It will be recalled that a coin of type V is known with the extra pellet in the same position (see p. 133).

The York coin has the I.M. Sun on both sides, and is also rare. Like the London coin it has large fleurs on the cusps, including that at the king's breast. Both London and York coins show curiously enough, on the reverse, P₃ of the groat, a practice which prevailed at first at several mints in the coinage of half-groats.

On the unique Coventry and the two known Norwich half-groats the fleurs on the cusps are small trefoils; the change was to be permanent on these coins. A further change was in the ornaments beside the bust. The quatrefoils which appear on the London and York coins were replaced at both Coventry and Norwich by saltires. At both these mints P₃ is found on the reverse.

The Bristol coins, which are rare, follow the same pattern: they have the Sun as initial mark on both sides, small trefoils on the cusps, and quatrefoils, or saltires, which sometimes take a form resembling the heraldic "mill-rinds", beside the bust. These "mill-rinds", which are found on other half-groats, as well as on smaller denominations, appear to be made up of two trefoil stops placed back to back with the resultant central pellets superimposed on one another. One reverse die omits the initial mark. A mule is known with type V with obverse I.M. Rose. This is rather unexpected, since a *groat* of Bristol with obverse I.M. Rose is, so far as the writers are aware, unknown. The coin has another unexpected feature for a Rose-marked obverse; it has small trefoils on the cusps. It has mill-rinds beside the bust and P₃ on the reverse.

The stops on type VI at all mints are saltires: a small Lis sometimes described as appearing after **DEVM** on one reverse die is probably an unusually large saltire (see *English Coins*, Pl. xxxv, 4).

No coins of type VI show any ornaments on the cusps over the crown.

The Canterbury coins are all from the archbishop's mint. All have as obverse initial mark the Pall; they show Bouchier's knot below the bust, and in one quarter of the reverse there is a spur, curving to the left from the inner circle among the pellets. The large fleurs on the cusps had changed at this mint to small trefoils during the issue of type V, and small trefoils are here also invariable and for the future.

On the obverse Canterbury coins have either (type VIa) saltires by the bust (with no I.M. on the reverse), or (type VIb) four irregular pellets, or wedges, in the field, two by the neck and two by the hair. Later in the issue these wedges give way to the normal quatrefoils, though anomalous coins occur here as in other types with no marks

at all beside the bust. The reverse initial mark of type VI*b* is the Sun.

One feature which the earlier type VI*a* of Canterbury has in common with the coins of the other mints is the use of the letter P similar to that of the groat fount (P₃).

Type VI at Canterbury is extensively muled, both with type V and type VII.

Type VII. These coins have at London I.M. Crown on both sides; though more abundant than other types, they are still not common. In the course of the issue two changes were introduced: first, the quatrefoils beside the bust which appear on the early coins of the type were replaced by trefoils; secondly, whereas types V and VI showed no fleurs or trefoils on the cusps over the crown, we now found them sometimes inserted, sometimes omitted. This variation became a permanent feature of the half-groats.

The stops are saltires, rarely trefoils, and are sometimes omitted altogether. One unusual reverse has a large fleur-shaped trefoil after POSVI.

There are provincial coins of York, Bristol, and Canterbury. The York coins have I.M. Lis on both sides and all have quatrefoils beside the bust. Otherwise they conform precisely to the London type.

The Bristol coins, like those of London, have I.M. Crown on both sides. By the bust they have either quatrefoils or saltires, and the stops are usually saltires on the obverse and either saltires or trefoils on the reverse; often there are none at all. All are rare. A mule has a reverse of type VIII, with no initial mark.

At Canterbury during the issue of this type we witness the closing of the archbishop's mint: we see also the interesting stages of the transfer of the coinage from the archbishop to the king. The type opens with what must be the last coins of the archbishop; they have I.M. Pall the archiepiscopal mark on the obverse, but they omit either the knot below the bust or the spur in one quarter of the reverse, each of which may be regarded as a personal mark of the archbishop. For practical purposes the coins are mules with previous issues and are so described in the lists. They have the quatrefoils beside the bust (omitted on one die) and small trefoils on the cusps. The archbishop's coinage then ceases, and we have no more half-groats with I.M. Pall.

The next coins evidently came from the king's mint. They have small trefoils on the cusps, quatrefoils, mill-rinds, or saltires by the bust, but I.M. Crown, either on both sides or the obverse only. On the breast and above the crown the trefoils vary; the stops, where they occur, are saltires, but more usually there are none.

Type VIII. As with the groats the initial marks on the London coins are Crown on obverse and Sun on reverse. A few rare coins conform strictly to type by showing a quatrefoil on the breast as well

as on either side of the bust. Others, however, have on the breast the ordinary small trefoil. No coins show ornaments on the cusps above the crown.

As in the case of the previous type, coins with quatrefoils by the bust (sometimes varied by saltires) appear side by side with coins having trefoils by the bust. The stops, when present, are saltires. Mules are known with a reverse of type VII or an obverse of type X.

At York the coins have quatrefoils by the bust, and I.M. Lis on obverse only. But the Lis appears on the reverse after **POSVI** instead of before it. The coin has **Ⓐ** on the breast—the only instance of the appearance of the mint-letter on half-groats of the first reign. The stops are saltires on the obverse and trefoils on the reverse. Reverse dies of this issue are found muled with type X.

At Bristol there are mules with the previous issue having I.M. Crown on both sides and trefoils by the bust, but the only coin known having the true initial marks of the type, obverse, Crown, reverse, Sun, has no marks at all beside the bust. The stops are always trefoils and the ornaments on the cusps similar to those on the London coins.

At Canterbury the initial marks are Crown on obverse and either Sun or no mark on the reverse. There are trefoils by the bust, and the usual variation in the fleuring of the cusps at the breast and over the crown. The stops are saltires, but are more frequently omitted.

Type IX. The sole authority for the existence of a London coin of this type is the mention of a half-groat having I.M.s Crown on obverse and Rose on reverse in the Bruun Sale (lot 514). The neck ornaments are uncertain, but since we have a rare Canterbury coin with I.M. Rose on both sides assignable to this type which has trefoils by the bust we may probably assume trefoils for the London coin also.

The Canterbury coin with I.M. Rose both sides has small trefoils on the cusps but none on the breast or over the crown. There is also a mule with the previous issue showing reverse I.M. Sun.

No other coins are known of this type, but at London what may be a mule with type X appeared in the Walters Sale (1913), lot 424, where it was described as having obverse I.M. Long Cross Fitchy, and perhaps a Rose on the reverse.

Type X. These coins conform strictly to type with obverse I.M. Long Cross Fitchy, reverse Sun, and coins are known of both *Xa* and *Xb*, that is, both with and without trefoils beside the bust. There is the usual variation in the cusp ornaments on the breast and over the crown. The stops when present are trefoils.

The existence of a mule with a reverse of type VIII which also has I.M. Sun is revealed by the discovery of two coins struck from the same reverse die, one with obverse I.M. Crown, and the other with Long Cross Fitchy [Pl. VII, 6 and 7].

There are no coins of Bristol or Canterbury, but a coin of York, with I.M. Lis, has trefoils by the bust. York coins of this type also figure

in mules showing reverse dies of type VIII with the initial mark Lis after **POSVI**.

Pence (see **Pl. VIII**).

The pence of York and Durham are discussed on p. 34. Of the others all are rare except, in some degree, the London coin with I.M. Crown. The coins may be seen in tabular form below:

Type	London	Bristol	Canter. Eccles.	Canter. Royal
VI	Sun	—	Pall	—
VII	Crown	Crown	Pall	Crown
VIII	Crown	Crown	—	—
X	LCF	—	—	—

The initial marks cannot follow the normal pattern precisely since they appear on the obverse only.

Type VI. The London coin is extremely rare: it is of the usual type, with quatrefoils by the bust and I.M. Sun.

There are no coins of Bristol, but Canterbury coins of this period may belong to either type V or VI. They were issued by the archbishop and have I.M. Pall, and quatrefoils or saltires by the bust; on some dies these are omitted. The knot of Bourchier appears below the bust and there is a spur in one quarter. A few coins have saltire stops.

Type VII. The London coin with I.M. Crown is the only London penny of this reign at all frequently seen. It may have quatrefoils or saltires by the bust, but at least two peculiar dies have a trefoil to the left and a quatrefoil to the right of the bust.¹ The anomaly was perhaps, therefore, intentional.

Pence are also known of Bristol and Canterbury. At Bristol they have the same I.M. Crown and the quatrefoils or saltires by the bust as the London coins.

At Canterbury we may perhaps assign to this type those coins of the archbishop (I.M. Pall) which omit the knot below the bust and the spur from the reverse. Coins which show one of these objects are mules with the previous issue. The coins with I.M. Crown are of course assigned to the king; they naturally have neither knot nor spur. They have the usual quatrefoils by the bust. Canterbury pence of this reign read **DI GRÆ**; in Edward's second reign they read **DEI GRÆ**.

Type VIII. The London coins are of two sub-types. One, a rare coin with quatrefoils by the bust, conforms truly to type by showing a quatrefoil on the breast also: the other type has trefoils by the bust, and no quatrefoil on the breast.

¹ A London half-groat purporting to show these unusual ornaments was exhibited before the Society by Mr. J. O. Manton, on 22 Apr. 1931. The initial mark is not known; see *Brit. Num. Journ.*, xxi, Proceedings, p. 148.

The Bristol coins have the same I.M. Crown and either quatrefoils by the bust, with trefoil stops in the reverse legend, or a single blundered trefoil (perhaps an unfinished die) to right of the bust.

There are no coins of Canterbury.

Type IX is not represented among the pence.

Type X. This type is represented at London only. The initial mark is the Long Cross Fitchy, and coins are known of both *Xa* and *Xb*, with and without trefoils beside the bust. Stops when present are trefoils.

Halfpence (see **Pl. VIII**).

The halfpence are represented by the following table:

<i>Type</i>	<i>London</i>	<i>Bristol</i>	<i>York Royal</i>	<i>Canter. Royal</i>
VI	Sun	—	—	—
VII	Crown	Crown	Lis	Crown
VIII	Crown	Crown	Lis	Crown
X	LCF	—	—	—

Type VI. The initial mark is the Sun. A few coins are found with saltires by the bust, but the more usual ornaments here are trefoils. The type is distinctly uncommon and is unrecorded by Brooke. There are no provincial coins.

Type VII. These coins have at London the usual I.M. Crown. They are the most plentiful of the halfpence of Edward's first reign. Coins are known with both saltires and trefoils beside the bust.

Provincial coins exist also of Bristol, Canterbury, and York. The Canterbury coins were struck by the king, and like the Bristol coins, have I.M. Crown. The York coins have the usual I.M. Lis. All the provincial halfpence have saltires or mill-rinds by the bust.

Type VIII. The London initial mark is again the Crown. The coins have trefoils by the bust, but are perhaps distinguishable from those of type VII by having trefoil stops.

Bristol and Canterbury coins have the same initial mark and the same trefoils beside the bust.

York halfpence of this type are similar but have I.M. Lis; in addition they sometimes have trefoil stops.

Type IX. No coin is at present known.

Type X. Coins exist of London with I.M. Long Cross Fitchy, of both *Xa* and *Xb*, with and without the trefoils by the bust. There are occasionally trefoil stops.

GOLD OF THE FIRST REIGN

Nobles

The two¹ surviving nobles which were struck before the indenture of August 1464 belong to the Heavy Coinage and have been described on p. 28. There exists also a single noble, probably struck under that indenture, which was described and illustrated in vol. xxii of this *Journal* (pp. 193 ff.; see also **Pl. II, 20**). It has on the obverse initial mark a small Rose and on the reverse a Lis, by now probably a conventional mark and nothing more. There is a quatrefoil by the king's forearm. It seems probable from the lettering that the coin should be associated with some of the early groats struck under the indenture of 1464, for instance, those reading **GRACIA** in full. This noble, with trifling differences, a rope, for example, at the prow, the quatrefoil, and readings **TRANSERS** and **IMORV**, is therefore of the same type and weight as the two heavy nobles but was struck *after* the value had been raised from 6s. 8d. to 8s. 4d. It was presumably struck therefore between August 1464 and March 1465. It is now in the British Museum, where it was placed by some of his friends in memory of Dr. Brooke. The half-noble and quarter-noble are not known.

Angels (see **Pl. VIII**).

Under the indenture of March 1465, in addition to ryals and their fractions, angels were also authorized. As we know, very few were struck and they are among the rarest of English coins. They have been fully described and illustrated in the article cited above, but may be briefly summarized here. They are of two types; one, with I.M. Rose, represented by two minor varieties, Brooke supposed to belong to the later Rose-marked type IX immediately preceding the Long Cross Fitchy period, but the lettering makes it more probably assignable to the early rose-marked type V; the other, with I.M. Crown, is presumably of type VII. They are more fully described in the lists.

Ryals (see **Pls. IX and X**).

It was the ryals which were to supply practically all the gold required until Edward's exile in 1470. Excluding mules, they are represented, broadly speaking, by the following table:

Type	London	Coventry	Norwich	Bristol	York
V	Rose or Nothing/Rose	—	—/Rose	—	—
VI	Sun or Nothing/Sun	—/Sun	—/Sun	—/Sun	—/Sun or Sun and Lis
VII	—/Crown	—	—	—/Crown	—/Lis
VIII	—/Crown or Sun (over Crown)	—	—	—/Crown	—/Lis
IX	(No coins known)	—	—	—	—
X	—/LCF	—	—	—/Sun	Sun/Sun (?)

¹ A third specimen is now known, from the same dies as the coin in the British Museum; it is in the collection of Mr. Herbert Schneider.

These striking coins are too well known to need description: they seem a little ostentatious perhaps, flaunting the king's own banner and the Yorkist rose, as though the splendour of the old noble were not enough. But for Edward these additions were more than mere display; they no doubt brought wide and valuable advertisement to his cause. Their magnificence helped to make the ryals popular, and their imitation abroad bears witness to the fact. On the provincial pieces the mint-letter was placed not inelegantly in the waves.

As will be seen, the initial marks follow the general pattern of the silver coins, the Rose, the Sun, the Crown, the Sun again (for Crown *with* Sun), and the Long Cross Fitchy. These marks appear usually on the reverse only; on the obverse they are the exception. Sometimes two marks appear, as occasionally on the silver, side by side, but the absence of the initial mark on the obverse may, when the lettering is insufficiently clear, make classification a matter of conjecture.

The ubiquitous quatrefoil of the earlier groats never appears in the field, perhaps for aesthetic reasons, but it sometimes appears in the legend. Here its value is not always certain as an identity mark since it appears at different periods. Large fleurs are the rule at first; they appear in the spandrels on the reverse, and later give way to small trefoils, and so afford valuable help when the initial mark leaves the type uncertain. The stops, with the exception of the saltires on the obverses of some rare York coins, are invariably trefoils, and in one respect the use made of them is peculiar. They are inserted not only between words but among the letters of a word; for instance, their appearance between the first two letters of **IBTT** on the reverse and between the **I** and the **B** of **IB** (for **hIB**) on the obverse is as much the rule as the exception. Other marks which appear in the legends will be mentioned as occasion arises.

Type V. Coins of type V have occasionally the initial mark (Rose) on both sides: they have large fleurs in the spandrels on the reverse. They are distinctly rare and are found of London and Norwich only. The Norwich coin, however, is known to the writers only from Montagu, ii. 577, and Manley Foster 46, perhaps the same coin, and also as appearing in Messrs. Spink's *Numismatic Circular*.¹ Walters mistakenly claimed one for the British Museum. The lettering on all the London coins shows by the variation in the letter **R**, as revealed by **R1**, **R2**, and **R3** (see the drawings at the end), that they were not struck until towards the end of the issue of type V. Quite likely therefore ryals were struck no earlier at London than at the provincial mints which opened in July 1465 (see p. 15). Their rarity is thus easily understood, since the Sun appeared shortly afterwards as the initial mark, as witness the earliest groats of Bristol, Coventry, and Norwich.

Type VI. The earliest ryals of type VI (I.M. Sun) are muled with those of type V. Other early coins show in addition to the I.M. Sun a

¹ Aug. 1896.

Rose, e.g. at Bristol and Coventry in the reverse legend. Such pieces again show some variation in the letter **R**. As the issue developed, however, **R**₃ is usually found. Some coins in addition to the normal trefoil stops show one or more small fleurs-de-lis in the obverse legend, a mark which it will be recalled appears also in the reverse legend of some Sun-marked groats. The old attribution of these coins to Calais is of course erroneous.

Type VI is the last class of ryals to show the initial mark commonly on both sides; on such coins the Sun on obverse may appear above or below the sail and some of these have a quatrefoil in the obverse legend. On one late coin of York the I.M.s Sun and Lis appear side by side on the reverse. This coin which the Sun combined with the large fleurs in the spandrels claim for this type is peculiar in showing the later **R** of type VII. All the provincial coins are rare, especially those of Coventry and Norwich.

Type VII. This type with I.M. Crown is the commonest of all and the last to show large fleurs in the spandrels. Coventry and Norwich were now closed, but Bristol and York both struck coins of this type, the latter with I.M. Lis. The principal variations are:

1. Coins of London with several lis in the obverse legend; these are distinguished from similar obverses of type VI by the later letter **R** (**R**₄), which is never found on any earlier than Crown-marked coins. They are probably early.
2. An occasional quatrefoil in one or other of the legends.
3. An additional and reversed abbreviation mark sometimes called a crescent, below the normal one after the word **ꝲꝯꝰ**, in lieu of a stop; the mark is found on a good many dies both at London and Bristol, though of course reverse dies were presumably interchangeable for any mint. This mark does not appear on the earliest coins.

York coins are rendered more difficult to classify by the I.M. Lis. Auxiliary marks are the large fleurs of the type and the letter **R** (**R**₄) of the Crown-marked groats. The same marks serve to distinguish Bristol coins also—the fleurs from reverses of type VIII, which has trefoils in the spandrels, and the letter **R** from obverses of type VI, where the initial mark is absent.

No account of type VII would be complete without some mention of the notorious (the term is perhaps undeserved) "Flemish" imitations, which recall this type with I.M. Crown and large fleurs in the spandrels. A little lighter than the genuine coins, they weigh when in fine condition about 116 grains. Notable characteristics are the larger flan, the long sword, and the larger rose on the ship, and a preciousness of manufacture lacking in the genuine dies. They usually read **RR7D** and **IIIORV**. The lettering is a plausible imitation but no more. The stops are trefoils, but they have not the complexity found on the

genuine coins, which may therefore perhaps claim to justify itself as a privy mark.¹

Type VIII. The type has small trefoils in the spandrels and, at London, I.M., first, Crown, and later, Sun-over-Crown. Varieties with both these marks have a pellet below the shield and an occasional quatrefoil in the legend. Another variety (e.g. Durlacher sale) is said to show Sun on obverse and Crown on reverse, but the only specimen we have seen with these marks is an imitation in the British Museum. Type VIII is generally scarce and is exemplified by coins of London, Bristol, and York; at York also a pellet appears occasionally below the shield. The initial mark at Bristol is the Crown and at York the Lis. A Bristol coin is peculiar in showing no ship ornaments at all and a York coin in showing lions only instead of the normal lis, lion, lion, lis. Some coins of these two mints add small trefoils to the cusps of the tressure on the reverse.

Type X. The coinage of ryals now began to dwindle rapidly. None are known of type IX, and those of type X with I.M. Long Cross Fitchy are also scarce, and with them the coinage of ryals comes to an end. One coin is remarkable in showing an obverse with small lettering recalling certain contemporary groats which it resembles also in reading **DEI**. Another coin shows on the ship two lions but no lis. Two coins show R4 on obverse and R5 on reverse. They are therefore regarded as mules with obverses of type VIII. One is a London coin, illustrated in the 'Foreign Collector' catalogue, 47 (wrongly numbered on the plate), and the other is a Bristol coin which shows reverse I.M. Sun and is from the same obverse die as the Bristol ryal of VIII which has no ship ornaments (**Pl. X, 2 and 3**).

There exists also a late York ryal with I.M. Sun on both sides; this too possibly belongs to type X.

A few peculiarities in the legend may be noted. Coins of Bristol, Norwich, and Coventry show **RRRO**; the two coins of Bristol and Coventry with a rose in the reverse legend have a further affinity in reading **P** for **PER** (Kenyon mistakenly says **B**), but are not struck from the same reverse die. It is chiefly in the Crown-marked London coins that we find most of the variations in spelling. They are usually confined to the word **TRANSIENS**, in a way which recalls the variations in the same word on the Pinecone nobles of Henry VI. The following have all been recorded; **TRANNIENS**, **TRNS**, **TRANNSIENS**, **TRANSIEN**, **TRANSIENS**, **TRANSIENNS**. It is possible that some of these are of foreign origin. A coin of type X reads **MEDVM**. Further details will be found in the lists.

As regards the comparative frequency of the coins, useful evidence is afforded by a find recorded in 1899.² Of thirty-five coins, five had I.M. Sun, twenty-nine Crown, and one Long Cross Fitchy. The St.

¹ Elsewhere in this number of the *Journal* Mr. J. D. A. Thompson has done ample justice to this interesting coinage.

² Messrs. Spink's *Numismatic Circular*, Jan. 1899.

Albans find of 1886 contained twenty-seven ryals, twenty-two of London and five of Bristol. Of the Bristol coins one showed I.M. Sun and four I.M. Crown; of the London coins two showed I.M. Rose, four I.M. Sun, and sixteen I.M. Crown. Two of those with I.M. Sun Sir John Evans described doubtfully as showing the Rose, but if there is doubt then the commoner mark is the more likely. In this case too the details he gave of the obverse support this view (*Num. Chron.*, 1886, pp. 173 ff.).

Half-ryals (see **Pl. XI**).

These coins are represented as follows:

Type	London	Coventry	Norwich	Bristol	York
V	—	—	—/Rose	—	—
VI	Sun or none	—/Sun	—	—/Sun or none	—/Sun
VII	—/Crown	—	—	—/Crown	—/Lis
VIII	—Crown, Sun/Crown, —/Sun and Crown or Sun over Crown	—	—	—Sun and Crown	—/Sun over Crown
IX	Rose/Crown	—	—	—	—/Rose and Lis
X	—/LCF	—	—	—	—

The provincial coins show, like the ryals, the mint-letter in the waves.

As usual, the coins are much rarer than the larger pieces, with the exception of London coins of type VII with I.M. Crown, and some are seldom obtainable. The absence of any London coins of type V is remarkable. On the other hand, the half-ryal provides examples of type IX of which no ryal is known. The most distinctive class of all, however, is the coin showing a lis in the waves. Former numismatists attributed such coins to York regarding the lis as an alternative to the usual mint-letter \mathfrak{a} but the view is in any case conjectural and has been generally abandoned.

The initial marks on the rare London coins of type VI with I.M. Sun, as with some ryals, appear on both sides, and though the Crown never appears on the obverse, types VIII and IX at London clearly proclaim their identity by showing the combinations of initial marks set out above. Several mints furnish coins with two marks, Sun (with rose in legend), Lis and Rose, or Sun and Crown, either side by side or one on each side, while both London and York indicate the second use of the Sun by showing it stamped over the Crown. The majority of the coins, however, show the initial mark on the reverse only. As on the ryals too, there is an occasional quatrefoil in one of the legends, and the pellet reappears, sometimes below, but sometimes above the shield. Large fleurs never appear in the spandrels, to which the smaller trefoils were presumably thought better adapted. The stops, except for a few coins with saltires on the obverse, are always trefoils, but the small lis occasionally appears also in the legend. The lettering on

half-ryals is not always a reliable guide, for the smaller fount was sometimes employed in one or both legends.

Type V. This has survived in coins of Norwich only. Walters thought them possibly struck from local dies, but the best existing specimen, [PL. XI, 11, R. C. L., *ex* Montagu II, 588] is above suspicion, and the other known examples were struck from the same pair of dies. There are lions but no lis on the ship.

Type VI. This type with I.M. Sun is not known of Norwich, but London, York, Bristol, and Coventry coins are all found. A feature of one variety which the last three mints have in common is a Rose side by side with the Sun. This may suggest a transitional type between V and VI or be merely a stop. A variety both at London and Bristol shows no initial mark at all, but the lettering, in each case including R3, shows that the coin belongs to this type. London coins with I.M. Sun have saltire stops on the obverse.

Type VII. These coins are fairly plentiful of London and most of them are very similar. Bristol coins with I.M. Crown and York coins with I.M. Lis are assigned to type VII also. We have not included a coin of York purporting to show the Crown struck over the Sun, recorded in the Bruun catalogue, 493. This piece is otherwise unknown, and it seems possible that the cataloguer may have mistaken the overstriking for the normal one at York of Sun over Crown.

It seems impossible satisfactorily to distinguish half-ryals of type VII from those of type VIII if the initial mark is the Crown alone. The corresponding ryals were distinguished by the presence of large fleurs or small trefoils in the spandrels, but half-ryals show small trefoils only there. Anomalous marks like fleurs-de-lis or quatrefoils in the legends are features too widespread to warrant their acceptance as a distinguishing mark between types VII and VIII. The only safe plan seems to assign all coins with Crown alone to type VII. If, however, a coin shows a pellet above or below the shield, or a lis in the waves, or the surer indication of the Sun as additional initial mark on either side we have regarded it as of type VIII or later.

The lettering on both types, unless from the smaller fount, shows R4.

Type VIII. The initial marks are either the Crown with some subsidiary ornament, or a combination of Crown and Sun, either together on one side as at Bristol, or one on either: on some coins of London the Sun is struck over the Crown; the same peculiarity appears on the only York coins which can safely be attributed to this type. The subsidiary ornaments referred to include a pellet below or above the shield, or a lis in the waves, a mark which used to be regarded as a "mint-mark" of York.

The lettering is not distinguishable from that on type VII.

Type IX. We have assigned to this type such coins as show a Rose as one of the initial marks in combination with the late letter R4. They include coins of London with Rose on obverse and Crown on reverse, with a lis in the waves and sometimes also a pellet above the shield. Similarly York coins with I.M. Rose and Lis side by side, since they too show R4, are assigned to this type.

Type X. A coin with I.M. Long Cross Fitchy is listed by Brooke in his *English Coins* under his type VI.¹ It is extremely rare.

The few variations in the legend have probably little significance. An exception should perhaps be made in the case of the word **AROVNS** which seems to be singled out for experiment more frequently than other words. It is spelt **AROVNS** at several mints—again we must remember that, apart from Lis marked coins, a reverse die might be used at any mint—and at more than one period. A similar omission of the letter **N** occurs with **RRNC** which is also found on the ryals. **DRI** on some York coins has already been noted.

Quarter-ryals (see **Pls. IX, X, and XI**).

Type V. Old Style, Rose above shield; mule only VI/V; I.M.s Sun/Rose.

„ V. New Style, **æ** above shield; mule only V/VI; I.M.s Rose/Sun.

„ VI. New Style, I.M. Sun.

„ VII. New Style, I.M.s Crown: or (? York) Lis/Crown, or Lis.

„ VIII. New Style, I.M.s Sun/Crown *or* Sun and Crown; Sun over Crown.

„ IX. New Style, (?) I.M.s Crown/Rose

„ X (or XI). New Style, I.M. Long Cross Fitchy.

These coins occur in all types except perhaps type IX. The most remarkable feature of them is the absence of any sure indication of the provincial mints. *Prima facie*, it is unlikely that none were struck at them; even if none were struck during the mint's few months' existence at Coventry and Norwich, one would at least have expected to see them produced at Bristol and York. The I.M. Lis, moreover, which occurs on a few coins seems incontrovertible evidence of the York mint, but if it is accepted it involves, since some of these coins have I.M. Crown on the reverse, the acceptance of this mark also at York. This is not impossible, but the chain of evidence goes no further, and any theory beyond this would seem to be based on the merest conjecture. There is no clue at all to identifying any coin with Bristol. The only practical plan therefore seems to assign all the coins provisionally to London.

The initial marks follow the pattern of the other coins and now, moreover, appear on both sides; occasionally two marks appear side

¹ Our description of the coins is taken from Messrs. Seaby's lists for March 1938. Both came from the collection of the late P. Carlyon-Britton. See List.

by side. We cannot set much store by the rose, however, since it was used freely as a stop at several different periods.

Type V. The earliest coins have a style of their own. They are very rare; only two are recorded, one of which is probably false. The obverse is adapted from the old quarter-nobles and has a tressure of the usual eight arches surrounding a shield which is surmounted by a rose; the reverse shows the normal style of Edward's quarter-ryals with the rose in the centre of a large sun. One of these coins has I.M. Rose on both sides and the other Sun on obverse and Rose on reverse. On the former Walters professed to see EDWARD stamped over HENRIC, but this is probably fanciful. The coin is in poor condition and in parts double-struck, and in any case the rose over the shield associated it with Edward. There is a lis after the king's name. Brooke omitted the piece from his *English Coins*, and has stated in a marginal note among his papers his view that it might be a Flemish forgery; a recent inspection of the piece, in our opinion, strengthens this view. Walters's suggestion that it may be a quarter-noble of the issue ordered in August 1464 is of course quite unacceptable as the reverse conforms perfectly to the type of the quarter-ryal. It is, it may be mentioned, the only surviving coin which shows the initial mark of Type V, the Rose, on both sides.

The new style of obverse shows the shield in a tressure or *quadrilobe* of four large arches. The rose above the shield is replaced by Edward's initial & and a rose and a sun appear on either side of the shield with a lis below. The earliest examples show the initial mark, and so the legend starting at the bottom of the coin, and the few surviving pieces have as initial marks Rose on obverse and Sun on reverse. Since the Sun had already appeared as the initial mark during the issue of the now superseded obverse, we are again faced with evidence of a transitional type on which both Rose and Sun appear. To avoid complications, however, we are considering, here as elsewhere, such coins as mules. Oddly enough, muling is otherwise seldom, if ever, discernible among quarter-ryals.

These three coins are the only ones in which type V plays any part. We have not included among them a piece in the British Museum which is illustrated in Grueber's *Handbook*, 356, and by Walters in *Num. Chron.*, 1909, Pl. XII, 3. It has as initial marks Rose on obverse and Sun on reverse, and the legend starts at the top in the normal way. But it is probably a forgery; Brooke ignores it. In addition to a meretricious finish quite alien to the ordinary coins it includes errors in the legend—omitting **U** in *Exaltabitur* (though this occurs on a genuine coin, Kenyon 4, I.M. Crown) adding a meaningless **ON** after *Gloria*, and reading *Anglie*—which are quite unusual. But its most unfavourable feature is the lettering, which bears no slightest resemblance to the normal fount. This fount, it should be stated, always shows the small lettering noticed on some half-ryals.

It will be noted from the lists that the three coins which show the

initial mark of type V on one side or the other have the rose placed on the left of the shield and the sun on the right (the forgery has the contrary arrangement), and although the ornaments were retained in these positions during the issue of type VI and of some coins of type VII, thereafter they alternate quite unpredictably and unaccountably. It is only possible to note the variations in the lists.

Type VI. These coins with I.M. Sun on both sides are rare. Though the lettering affords no evidence of the type it is reasonable to assign them to this issue. One reverse die shows saltire stops.

Type VII. As with other denominations, type VII with I.M. Crown is the commonest, though it includes unusual varieties with saltire stops on obverse or a quatrefoil at the end of the reverse legend. To type VII can also conveniently be assigned, albeit a little conjecturally, coins which have I.M. Lis or Lis/Crown (including an obverse die with saltire stops). They may or may not have been struck at York where they would be matched by the other gold coins with I.M. Lis, or in the case of the Lis/Crown coins by the similar groats of type VII. The positions of the sun and rose beside shield vary in this issue.

Type VIII. To this type are assigned coins with I.M.s Sun on obverse and Crown or Sun and Crown on reverse, or Sun struck over Crown on both sides. Coins with obverse I.M. Sun have the sun to the left of the shield and the rose to right; coins with I.M. Sun over Crown show the contrary arrangement.

Type IX. The type, if it exists, shows as initial marks Crown on obverse and Rose on reverse; it is, however, known to the writers only from a sale catalogue (Mann 243), and it is probable that on quarter-ryals the rose is nothing but a stop. The coin is said to show the rose to left and the sun to right of the shield.

Type X. This type, though we should rather, on the analogy of the groats, call it type XI, has the Long Cross Fitchy on both sides. The positions of the sun and rose beside the shield vary. The coins are rare and one obverse die shows saltire stops. Kenyon cites a coin from Ruding, otherwise unknown, which has I.M.s Long Cross Fitchy on obverse and Rose on reverse, presumably, if it exists, a mule X/IX.

There are few variations in the legends; a coin of type X or XI reads **EDWRD**, and on the reverse, besides **EXXTTBITVR**, the peculiar **EXXLTBITVTVR IN GLOR** or **GLORI** is found on several dies of type VII with reverse I.M. Crown.

The stops on all types are generally trefoils, rarely saltires, and lis, roses, or quatrefoils are sometimes added to and sometimes replace the trefoils.

Some rare coins have a pellet on either side of the letter **æ** above the shield; a few replace the trefoils in the four spandrels on the obverse by pellets or omit them altogether.

LIGHT COINAGE, 1464-70

LONDON GROATS

Type V

I.M. Rose on both sides.

Normal legends: EDWARD DI GRÆ REX ANGL & FRANC; POSVI / DEVM P / DIVTOR / E MEVM; CIVI / TTS / UON / DON

*Type Va*Light coins from (1) heavy dies of type IV with *annulets by bust*.

(2) Smaller copies of (1).

Large fleurs on cusps, except over crown, and Eye after TTS; reverses showing stops are from the smaller copies, with, usually, smaller lettering, including P2 in POSVI but for large letters, no reverse I.M. and Eye after DON, see *Num. Chron.*, 1909, Pl. x, 13.

1. No fleur on breast; no stops.
2. " " saltire stops on obverse only (FRANC *).
3. " " " " reverse only; one reads FRANC
4. " " " " both sides.
5. Breast arch fleured; no stops (Pl. IV, 1).
6. " " saltire stops on obverse only (FRANC *).
7. " " " " reverse only.

Mule Va/Vc

Obverse as Va 4, reverse with extra pellet under CIVI (C.E.B.; Pl. IV, 2).

*Type Vb*Light coins from (1) heavy dies of type III, with *quatrefoils by bust*; large fleurs on cusps (none over crown), but small trefoil on breast; Eye in inner legend of reverse; saltire stops.

(2) Smaller copies of (1), but large fleur on breast; sometimes large but usually small lettering; most have Eye in inner legend of reverse, saltire stops.

	<i>By bust</i>	<i>On breast</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1	••••	Trefoil	Obv. and rev. from heavy dies of type III, or rev. with small lettering (P2); Eye after TTS; one reads POSV (Pl. IV, 3 and 4).
2	"	Fleur	New dies; large lettering both sides; no Eye; <i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1909, Pl. XI, 2 (R.C.L.). A contemporary imitation?
3	"	"	New dies; small lettering (P2); Eye after TTS: usually saltires in inner legend, several pairs of dies known.
4	"	"	GRACIA; Walters Sale, 1913, lot 401; no Eye, small lettering (P2) R.C.L. (Pl. IV, 5).
5	No marks	"	FRANC ::, Eye after TTS (P2) (R.C.L.).

Mules Vb/Vc

Reverse of Vc with extra pellet in one quarter.

1. Same obv. die as Vb 4 (GRACIA), rev., extra pellet under CIVI, saltire stops, P2 (C.E.B.).
2. Same obv. die as Vb 4 (GRACIA), rev., similar but extra pellet under UON (L.A.L.).
3. Same obv. die as Vb 5 (no quatrefoils by bust, FRANC ::), rev., pellet under UON, trefoil stops (C.E.B.; Pl. IV, 6).

Type Vc

Coins of neat work; quatrefoils by bust; perhaps two parallel series with either (i) fleurs or (ii) trefoils on cusps; on breast, with each series, either (i) a fleur or a

trefoil, (ii) a rose, or (iii) nothing. Saltire stops except the reverse of mule 3 above which has trefoils and is not known as a true coin; extra pellet in one quarter, P2 in **POSVI**

	<i>Cusps</i>	<i>Breast</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1	Fleurs	Fleur	Extra pellet recorded under QIVI , UON , and DON
2	"	Rose	" " " QIVI , TAS , and DON
3	"	Nothing	" " " TAS and DON
4	Trefoils	Trefoil	" " " in each of the four quarters.
5	"	Rose	" " " in each of the four quarters (Pl. IV , 7).
6	"	Nothing	" " " under QIVI only.

Mules Vc/Vd

Reverses of *Vd* with P3 in **POSVI**

1. *Obv.* as *Vc* 4; *rev.*, pellet under **DON**, P3 (C.E.B.).
2. " " but **RRN**; *rev.*, pellet under **QIVI** (E.J.W.).
3. " *Vc* 5; *rev.*, pellet under **DON** (C.E.B.).

Type Vd

Quatrefoils by bust; fleurs on cusps; early obverses omit fleur on breast; extra pellet in one quarter (rarely omitted); saltire stops (rarely omitted on reverse); P3, R1.

	<i>Cusps</i>	<i>Breast</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1	Fleurs	Nothing	RRNOC , RRNOC *, RRN ; extra pellet recorded in each of the four quarters.
2	"	Fleur	RRNOC , RRN ; TRGL , TRG ; one reads EWTRD and RRNOCIE ; extra pellet recorded in each of the four quarters; POSV on different dies.
3	"	"	A reverse with no extra pellet is joined with same obverse die as mule <i>Vd</i> /VI, 1.

Mules Vd/VI

Reverses of VI with I.M. Sun.

1. *Obv.* as *Vd* 3 (same die); *rev.* I.M. Sun, extra pellet under **QIVI**; R1 both sides (E.J.W.; **Pl. IV**, 8).
2. " " (different die); *rev.* I.M. Sun, no extra pellet; R2 both sides (C.E.B.); one reads **RRNOC** (Baldwin).
3. " " but fleur on breast struck over **Q**; *rev.* I.M. Sun, no extra pellet; R2 both sides; see Parsons Sale, 388.

Mules VI/Vd

Obverses of VI with I.M. Sun.

1. *Obv.* as VI 1 below; *rev.* I.M. Rose, pellet under **UON**; R1 on both sides (C.A.W.).
2. " " " " no extra pellet; *obv.* R3, *rev.* R1 (E.J.W.); one reads **RRN** (**Pl. IV**, 9).

Type VI

I.M. Sun on both sides; quatrefoils by bust (omitted on one die); large fleurs on cusps (one die with none), sometimes omitted on breast; saltire stops both sides, or, on reverse, none; some have lis after **TAS**; P3, R1, R2, or R3.

	Cusps	Breast	Stops on rev.	Remarks
1	Fleurs	Fleur	Saltires	Also RR7ND *; one reads POSV .
2	"	"	"	Lis after T7S ; R3 on reverse; one with R6 for R6X (C.E.B.).
3	"	"	None	Lis after T7S (L.A.L.).
4	"	"	None	Extra pellet under NON (L.A.L.).
5	"	No fleur	Saltires	—
6	"	"	None	—
7	No fleurs	"	Saltires	All fleurs omitted, R1 both sides (C.A.W., C.E.B.).
8	Fleurs	Fleur	"	EDV7RD ; no quatrefoils by bust, R2 both sides. Same obv. die as Mule VI/VII, 1 (Pl. IV, 10).

Note: On an obverse die similar to No. 1 a rose on the king's sinister breast is probably an unauthorized addition; see *Brit. Num. Journ.*, vol. i, p. 378, Pl. no. 12.

Mules VI/VII

Obv. I.M. Sun, *rev.* I.M. Crown.

1. *Obv.* same die as VI 8 (**EDV7RD**, no quatrefoils by bust), *rev.* I.M. Crown, saltire stops; see *Num. Chron.*, 1909, Pl. xiv, 1.
2. *Obv.* as VI 1; *rev.* I.M. Crown, saltire stops; one reads **RR7ND** *.
3. " " " no stops (L.A.L.).

Mule VIII/VI (VII/VI)

Obv. I.M. Crown, *rev.* I.M. Sun.

Quatrefoils by bust, 'trefoils on tressure, lis after *Tas*' (Longbottom 179).

Type VII

I.M. Crown on both sides. Quatrefoils by bust. Large fleurs on cusps, later replaced by small trefoils. R4 on both sides.

	Stops on obv.	Cusps	Breast	Stops on rev.	Source and remarks
1	Saltires	Fleurs	Fleur	Saltires	Normal earlier coins; variants: 1. RR7ND *; RR7N 2. Lis after DEVN (L.A.L.) 3. No stops one side or both. 4. Fleur on breast omitted (Pl. IV, 11).
2	"	"	"	"	No reverse I.M. (Ashmolean).
3	Lis	"	"	"	L.A.L. (Pl. VIII, 20); one obv. has no fleurs.
4	"	"	"	Trefoils	C.E.B.; one rev. has no stops (C.E.B.).
5	Saltires	"	"	Saltires	B.M.; quatrefoils by bust omitted; Hawkins, 31.
6	Saltires	Trefoils	Trefoil	Saltires	A few later coins; one has I.M. Crown after POSVI (L.A.L.; Pl. VIII, 21).

Note: **RR7NDVS**, **RR7NDV**, **POSVI D** (sic) appear on coins which are probably not authentic; see Walters Sale, 1913, lot 426; one (E.C.C.) has a York reverse (Pl. IV, 12; VI, 2).

Mules VII/VIII

1. I.M. *obv.* Crown (large fleurs on cusps), *rev.* Sun; fleur on breast, saltire stops, R4 both sides (R.C.L.; Pl. IV, 13).
2. I.M. *obv.* Crown (trefoils on cusps), *rev.* Sun; no mark on breast, saltire stops, R4 both sides (E.J.W.; Pl. IV, 14).

Mule VIII/VII

I.M. *obv.* Sun and Crown, or Crown alone, *rev.* Crown, large fleurs on cusps, quatrefoil on breast.

1. *Obv.* I.M. Sun and Crown, saltire stops, see *Brit. Num. Journ.* viii (1911), p. 149, Pl. no. 4 (L.A.L.).
2. *Obv.* I.M. Crown alone, saltire stops, see *Brit. Num. Journ.* viii (1911), p. 149, Pl. no. 3 (L.A.L.).

Type VIII

I.M. *obv.* Crown, *rev.* Sun. Quatrefoils by bust, quatrefoil on breast; at first fleurs, later trefoils on cusps; stops, at first saltires, later, trefoils. R₄ both sides.

	<i>Stops on obv.</i>	<i>Cusps</i>	<i>Over Crown</i>	<i>Stops on rev.</i>	<i>Source and remarks</i>
1	Saltires	Fleurs	Nothing	Saltires	<i>Obv.</i> I.M. Sun and Crown; see <i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1909, Pl. XIII, 9.
2	"	"	"	"	<i>Obv.</i> I.M. Crown only; one reads RRNOC * This and the preceding coin are abnormal; this may be an old die of type VII with quatrefoil added on breast.
3	Saltires, rarely trefoils, or none	Trefoils	Trefoils or nothing	Saltires, rarely trefoils, or none	<p>Variants:</p> <p>(a) <i>Trefoils over crown</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. RRNOC ∴ 2. RRN; one or no trefoils by shoulders. 3. RRNOC *; RRNOC ∴ <p>(b) <i>No trefoils over crown</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. NRG 2. Pellet before MBVM (Pl. V, 1). 3. MBVM *; DOH ∴ 4. RRNOCIB, RRNOCIS (small letters) RRNOC ∴ ∴ 5. No trefoils to tressure.

Mule IX/VIII

I.M. *obv.* Rose and Crown, *rev.* Sun, usual quatrefoils and trefoils on cusps, *Num. Chron.* 1909, p. 204, 8; R₄ both sides. B.M. (Pl. VIII, 22).

Mule IX/VII

I.M. *obv.* Rose and Crown, *rev.* Crown (cited in notes of the late J. Shirley-Fox).

Type IX

I.M. *obv.* Crown, *rev.* Rose. Quatrefoils by bust and on breast. R₄ on obv., R₅ on rev.

	<i>Stops on obv.</i>	<i>Cusps</i>	<i>Over Crown</i>	<i>Stops on rev.</i>	<i>Source and remarks</i>
1	Saltires	Trefoils	Nothing	Saltires	L.A.L. LONDON , RRN (Pl. VIII, 23).
2	Trefoils	"	"	Saltires	L.A.L. Same rev. die; RRNOC ; <i>obv.</i> lettering from small fount. See <i>B.N.J.</i> xvii. 125, Pl. no. 1.
3	"	"	"	Trefoils	L.A.L. LONDON

Mules Xa/IX

I.M. *obv.* Long Cross Fitchy, *rev.* Rose. Trefoils by bust, and on cusps except over Crown; saltire stops both sides.

1. *Obv.* as Xa 4, small letters, DEI, RRTRDIE; *rev.* LONDOO (C.E.B.; Pl. V, 2); different *rev.* die from Pl. VIII, 23.

2. *Obv.* normal lettering DI, RRTRD; *rev.* LONDOO (same die, L.A.L.); see *Brit. Num. Journ.* xvii. 125, Pl. no. 2.

Type Xa

I.M. *obv.* Long Cross Fitchy, *rev.* Sun. Trefoils by bust; trefoils on cusps; stops, saltires, trefoils, or mixed saltires and trefoils (on obverse), or none. R₅, I₁, or I₂.

	<i>Stops on obv.</i>	<i>Breast</i>	<i>Over Crown</i>	<i>Stops on rev.</i>	<i>Source and remarks</i>
1	None	Trefoil	Trefoils	Trefoils	Quatrefoils by neck (L.A.L.).
2	"	"	"	None	Saltires by neck (C.E.B.; Pl. V, 3).
3	Saltires, trefoils, mixed, or none	Trefoil, often omitted	Trefoils, often omitted	Saltires, trefoils, mixed, or none	Trefoils by neck. Variants: (a) Trefoils on all cusps RRTR (b) Trefoil absent on breast DEI, RRTRDI (small letters). (c) Trefoils absent over crown 1. DEI, RRTRDIE, RRTRDI; DI, RRTRD (all small letters); RRTRD; 2. DIVITAT (d) No trefoils on breast or over crown RRTRD ♂; ♀ RRTRD ♂; ♂ RRTRD ♂ (or ♀ ♂) (mixed stops on obv.); RRTRD

Type Xb

As Xa but no trefoils by bust.

	<i>Stops on obv.</i>	<i>Breast</i>	<i>Over Crown</i>	<i>Stops on rev.</i>	<i>Source and remarks</i>
1	Mixed	Trefoil	Trefoil	Saltires	<i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1909, Pl. xv, 15; abnormal lettering on obv.; RRTRD ♂
2	Trefoils or saltires	"	"	Trefoils, saltires, or none	Variants: 1. No trefoils over crown. 2. RRTRD; one trefoil over crown.

Type XI

Obv. as Type Xa or b, *rev.* I.M. Large Cross Fitchy with no stops. R₅, I₂.

1. Trefoils by bust, mixed stops on obv.; no trefoils on breast or over crown; same *obv.* die as a coin of Xa (C.E.B.).

2. No trefoils by bust, trefoil stops on obv., no trefoils on breast or over crown (L.A.L.).

3. " " " " trefoils on breast and over crown (Ashmolean (Pl. V, 4), Fitzwilliam).

LONDON HALF-GROATS

1464-70

Legends as on groats, with variation in **RRNNO**.

Type Va

I.M.s Rose/Rose. Light coins from heavy dies. Annulets by bust; large fleurs on cusps, none on breast or over crown; no stops.

RRNNO Wt. 23.3 grs.

Bruun 513.

Type Vd

I.M.s Rose/(None). Quatrefoils by bust; large fleurs on cusps; saltire stops; extra pellet under **QIVI** (Pl. VII, 1) R.C.L.

Mule VI/V

I.M.s Sun/(None). Quatrefoils by bust; large fleurs on cusps; saltire stops; extra pellet under **QIVI** (Pl. VII, 2) B.M.; R.C.L.

Type VII

I.M.s Crown/Crown. Small trefoils on cusps and on breast, none over crown.

(a) Quatrefoils by bust; saltire stops.

RRNNO; **RRN**; **RR** (Pl. VII, 3).

Variants: 1. Trefoils on all cusps or omitted on breast.

2. Stops omitted on obverse or reverse.

3. Large fleur after **POSVI** (mule a/c, B.M.).

(b) Saltires by bust, saltire stops; trefoils over crown but none on breast; **RR**

(c) Trefoils by bust; no trefoils on breast; saltire stops or none; **RR**

Variants: 1. One saltire, one trefoil by bust; **RR** (?).

2. Large fleur after **POSVI** (H. W. Taffs.; Pl. VII, 4).

3. Trefoils over crown.

Mule VIIa/VII

I.M.s Crown/Crown. Quatrefoils by bust and on breast; B.M. (Hawkins 2).

Type VIII

I.M.s Crown/Sun. Small trefoils on cusps, none over crown.

(a) Quatrefoils by bust and on breast; no stops; **RRN** (Pl. VII, 5) C.A.W.

(b) Saltires by bust; trefoil on breast; saltire stops on reverse or none; **RR**;

R.C.L.; L.A.L.

(c) Trefoils by bust and on breast; trefoil stops on obv.; **NRGL** **Σ** **RR** (B.M.), or no stops; **NRGL** **RR** (Pl. VII, 6). C.A.W.

Type IX (?)

I.M.s Crown/Rose (known only from catalogue, Bruun, 514).

Mule X/VIII

I.M.s LCF/Sun. **NRGL** **RR**; same rev. die as VIII(c); Walters, 1913, 420 (Pl. VII, 7).

Mule X/IX

I.M.s LCF/Rose. (?) No marks by neck (known only from catalogue, Walters Sale, 1913, 424.)

Type X

I.M.s LCF/Sun. Small trefoils on all cusps; stops, *obv.* trefoils, *rev.* none; **RRN**; **RR**

(a) Trefoils by bust.

Variants: 1. No stops; no trefoils on breast or over crown.

C.E.B.

2. No trefoils over crown.

Baldwin.

(b) No marks by bust; trefoils over crown, none on breast; stops, obverse trefoils or none, reverse none.

L.A.L.

LONDON PENCE

1464-70

Rev. legend **QIVI / TTS / LON / DON**

Type	I.M.	By bust	Obv. legend	Source	Remarks
Va	Rose	○ ○	EDWARD' DI GR ⁷ R ⁶ X T ⁶ GL'	Fitzwilliam	Light coin from heavy dies 11.6 grs. (Pl. II, 8).
VI	Sun	☼ ☼	EDWARD (sic) DI GR ⁷ R ⁶ X T ⁶ GL'	B.M.	Pl. VIII, 1.
VII. 1	Crown	" "	EDWARD DI GR ⁷ R ⁶ X T ⁶ NG	B.M.	Also T ⁶ N
2	"	" "	EDWARD DI GR ⁷ R ⁶ X T ⁶ GL	Longbottom 182	Pl. VIII, 2.
3	"	☼ ☼	" " "	C.A.W.; Baldwin (another obv. die)	Trefoil and quatrefoil by bust.
4	"	* *	" " "	R.C.L.	—
VIII. 1	"	☼ ☼	EDWARD DI GR ⁷ R ⁶ X T ⁶ NG	C.E.B., ex Dakers	Quatrefoil on breast.
2	"	☼ ☼	EDWARD DI GR ⁷ R ⁶ X T ⁶ GL	R.C.L.	ex Longbottom 182.
Xa 1	LCF	☼ ☼	" " "	B.M.; Num. Chron., 1909, Pl. xv, 7; Fitzwilliam (Pl. VIII, 3).	—
2	"	" "	EDWARD DI GR ⁷ R ⁶ X T ⁶ N	R.C.L.	ex Walters Sale, 1932, 334
3	"	" "	EDWARD DI GR ⁷ R ⁶ X . T ⁶ GL	Montagu, ii. 626	See also Hawkins, No. 8 (EDWARD).
Xb	"	No marks	EDWARD DI GR ⁷ R ⁶ X T ⁶ NG	B.M.	Pl. VIII, 4 or see Num. Chron., 1909, Pl. xv, 12.

LONDON HALFPEUCE

1464-70

Rev. legend **QIVI / TTS / LON / DON**

Type	I.M.	By bust	Obv. legend	Source	Remarks
V. 1	Rose	* *	EDWARD DI GR ⁷ R ⁶ X T ⁶	C.A.W.	5½ grs.
2	"	"	EDWARD DI GR ⁷ R ⁶ X :	R.C.L.	6 grs. Also DI ⁷ , R ⁶ X
3	"	"	EDWARD DI GR ⁷ .(P)R ⁶ X	E.J.W.	Pl. VIII, 12.
VI. 1	Sun	"	EDWARD DI GR ⁷ R ⁶ X	E.J.W.	Pl. VIII, 13.

Type	I.M.	By bust	Obv. legend	Source	Remarks
VI. 2	Sun	∴ ∴	EDWTRD DI GRN RAX T	E.J.W.	Pl. VIII, 14.
3	"	"	EDWTRD DI GRN RAX	R.C.L.	—
4	"	"	EDWTRD DI GRN RAX T	C.E.B.	—
VII. 1	Crown	* *	EDWTRD DI GRN RAX	E.J.W.	Pl. VIII, 17.
2	"	∴ ∴	EDWTRD DI GRN RAX T(?)	C.E.B.	—
3	"	"	EDWTRD DI GRN RAX	E.J.W.	Pl. VIII, 15.
VIII	"	"	EDWTRD DI GRN RAX	R.C.L.	<i>ex</i> Longbottom 196.
Xa	LCF	"	EDWTRD DI GRN RAX T	C.A.W.	Pl. VIII, 16.
Xb	"	No marks	? ?	Hunterian	—

COINS OF THE BRISTOL MINT, 1465-70

GROATS

B on breast; normally no ornaments on cusps over crown. Legends as on London coins but mint-name as shown.

Mule VI/V

I.M.s Sun/Rose. Quatrefoils by bust; large fleurs on cusps; saltire stops.

BRISTOLL; BRISTOW; ∴ BRISTOW

R1 or R3 on obv., R3 on rev. (Pl. V, 5). See also *Num. Chron.*, 1909, Pl. XII, 1.

Type VI

I.M.s Sun/Sun.

(a) Quatrefoils by bust; large fleurs; stops, *obv.* saltires, *rev.* saltires, trefoils, or mixed. **BRISTOLL; BRISTOLL; BRISTOW**

Variants: *obv.* 1. No **B** on breast.

2. No fleur to r. of crown.

3. Fleurs over crown.

rev. 1. + **VIIIT**

2. **VIIIT** * sometimes with trefoil stops in outer legend.

The two **U**'s of the mint-name may have an ordinary abbreviation mark, or one denoted by a transverse line through them. R1, R2, and R3 (Pl. V, 6).

See also *Num. Chron.*, 1909, Pl. XII, 7.

(b) No quatrefoils by bust; otherwise as (a). **BRISTOW**

Variants: **VIIIT** ∴; **VIIIT** *

Mule VI/VII

I.M.s Sun/Crown. Quatrefoils by neck; large fleurs; saltire stops. **BRISTOLL**

Mule VII/VI

I.M.s Crown/Sun. Quatrefoils by neck; large fleurs; *obv.* saltire stops, *rev.* none.

BRISTOW

Type VII

On this issue the cusp ornaments are at first large fleurs, later small trefoils.

I.M.s Crown/Crown. Quatrefoils by bust; lettering R4.

(a) Large fleurs; *obv.* saltire or pellet stops, *rev.* saltires or none.

BRISTOLL; BRISTOW; BRISTOLL; BRISTOW

Variants: *obv.* 1. Pellet stops (**Pl. V, 9**).

2. Pellet stops, fleurs to r. of bust absent.

3. **B** over **E** on breast.

4. **FRANK** *, also **FRAN**

rev. 1. **DEVN** * with **MEV'** or **MEVN** (**Pl. V, 7**).

2. **WIL** * / **LT** * or **VIL** * / **LT** * (**Pl. V, 8**).

Occasional abbreviation marks after one or both **U**'s of the mint-name.

Mule (a)/(b). Large fleurs; *rev.* trefoil or mixed stops.

BRISTOW

Variants: *obv.* Pellet stops, fleurs to r. of bust absent.

rev. 1. Trefoil stops.

2. Saltires or mixed stops in outer, trefoils in inner legend.

VIL * / **LT** * **B** / **RIS** / **TOW**

(b) Small trefoils on cusps; stops; *obv.* saltires, *rev.* saltires, trefoils, or mixed.

BRISTOLL; **BRSTOLL**; **BRISTOW** (**Pl. V, 11**).

Mule VIIa/VIII

I.M.s Crown/Sun. Quatrefoils by bust, large fleurs; stops; *obv.* saltires, *rev.* none.

BRISTOW (**Pl. V, 10**).

Type VIII

I.M.s Crown/Sun. Quatrefoils by bust; trefoils on cusps; stops, *obv.* saltires or trefoils, *rev.* saltires, trefoils, mixed, or none.

BRISTOW; **R**4 both sides.

Variants: *rev.* 1. **VIL** * / * **LTB** / **RIS** / **TOW**

2. **VIL** * / **LTB** / **RIS** * / **TOW** (**Pl. V, 12**).

Mule X/VIII

I.M.s Sun/Sun. Trefoils by bust; trefoils on cusps; trefoil stops; reverse as variant 2 (above); **R**5 on obverse, **R**4 on reverse (**Pl. V, 13**).

Type X

I.M.s Sun/Sun. Trefoils by bust; trefoils on cusps; stops, trefoils.

BRISTOW

Variants: *obv.* **FRANKI** with no stops.

rev. **VIL** * / **LTB** / **RIS** * / **TOW**

L1, **R**5 on both sides.

See *Num. Chron.*, 1909, Pl. xv, 4.

HALF-GROATS

No **B** on breast; small trefoils on cusps, except on breast and over crown. Legends as on London coins but mint-name as shown.

Mule V/VI

I.M.s Rose/Sun. Saltires by bust; saltire stops both sides.

* **S** * **R**; **BRSTOW**

P3 in **POSVI**

P. Carlyon-Britton Sale 119 (*ill.*)

Type VI

(1) I.M.s Sun/Sun. Saltires by bust; saltire stops both sides.

* **S** * **FRAN'** (**FRAN**, Ashmolean); **BRSTOW**

P3 in **POSVI**

C.E.B.

(2) I.M.s Sun/Sun. Same *obv.* die as (1).

BRISTOW

P3 in **POSVI**

B.M., *ex* Wheeler 268.

English Coins, Pl. xxxv, 4.

(3) I.M.s Sun/(None). Quatrefoils by bust; stops, *obv.* saltires, *rev.* none.

FRAN; **BRSTOLL**

Ready Sale 478 (*ill.*)

Type VII

- (1) I.M.s Crown/Crown. Saltires by bust; stops, *obv.* none, *rev.* trefoils.
RR' (?) for REX; RR7; BRISTOU Wills Sale 467 (*ill.*)
- (2) I.M.s Crown/(None). Saltires by bust; stops, trefoils or on *rev.* none; **BRISTOW**
 Ashmolean.
- (3) I.M.s Crown/Crown. Crosses by bust; stops, *obv.* saltires, *rev.* uncertain.
RR'; BRISTOW Walters Sale, 1913, 418 (*ill.*).
- (4) I.M.s Crown/Crown. Quatrefoils by bust; trefoils over crown; stops, *obv.* saltires, *rev.* none. **RR7N; BRISTOW** Morrieson Sale 204 (*ill.*), *ex* Montagu, v. 216.
 Variants: 1. No trefoils over crown, **BRISTOLL**; R.C.L. (Pl. VII, 8).
 2. No reverse I.M. Baldwin.
- (5) I.M.s Crown/Crown. Quatrefoils by bust; stops, *obv.* saltires, *rev.* trefoils.
RR; VII' / 177 : B / RIS / TOU (Pl. VII, 9.) R.C.L.
- (6) I.M.s Crown/(None). Quatrefoils by bust; stops, *obv.* saltires, *rev.* trefoils.
RR; BRISTOW R.C.L.

Mule VIII/VII

- I.M.s Crown/Crown. Trefoils by bust; trefoil on breast; stops, *obv.* trefoils, *rev.* uncertain.
BRISTOW C.E.B.

Type VIII

- I.M.s Crown/Sun. No marks by bust; trefoil on breast; stops, *obv.* trefoils, *rev.* none.
BRISTOU (Pl. VII, 10.) R.C.L.

PENCE. I.M. Crown.

Type	By bust	Obv. legend	Rev. legend	Source
VII	(1) ++	EDWARD DI GR7 REX 7N6	BRISTOW	R.C.L., <i>ex</i> Crowther Sale (Pl. VIII, 5).
	(2) ∴ ∴	As (1), but 7N6U	* BRISTOW	R.C.L., <i>ex</i> Wheeler Sale 272.
	(3) × ×	EDWARD DI GR7 REX 7N6	BRISTOW	R.C.L.
VIII	(1) ∴ ∴	EDWARD DI GR7 REX 7N6U	B/R1.S/TOU	L.A.L., <i>ex</i> Maish.
	(2) — ∴	EDWARD DI GR7 REX 7N6U	BRISTOLL	B.M. (Pl. VIII, 6). ¹

HALFPENCE. I.M. Crown.

Type	By bust	Obv. legend	Rev. legend	Source
VII	++	EDWARD DI GR7 REX	BRISTOW	B.M.
VIII	∴ ∴	" " " "	BRISTOV	R.C.L., <i>ex</i> Longbottom Sale 199 (Pl. VII, 22).
	"	" " " "	BRISTOW	L.A.L.

¹ The trefoil to right of bust is slightly double struck, giving a suggestion of a quatrefoil. Hawkins, rightly we think, described it as a trefoil.

COINS OF THE COVENTRY MINT, 1465

GROATS

Ɔ on breast; quatrefoils by bust; large fleurs on cusps; saltire stops. R1, R2, or R3.

Type	I.M.s	Obv. legend	Rev. legend	Remarks
Mule VI/V	Sun/Rose	RR7NƆ *	ƆOVΘ' TRΘ	Pl. VI, 9.
VI 1	Sun/Sun	RR7NƆ	ƆOV' ΘTRΘ	Also RR7NƆ; POSVI *
2	"	"	ƆOV' ΘTRΘ	Pl. VI, 10.
3	"	RR7N	ƆOVΘ' TRΘ*	Obv. R2, rev. R3. <i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1909, Pl. XIII, 3.

Some coins from local dies have I.M. Rose both sides and sometimes no quatrefoils by the bust, and no Ɔ on breast; a coin with I.M. Sun on both sides, quatrefoils but no Ɔ, reads **EDW7RDVS**, and **ƆOVETRE CIVITAS**; it is of good style but probably a contemporary imitation (Baldwin).

HALF-GROATS

No Ɔ on breast; crosses by bust; small trefoils on cusps, none on breast; saltire stops.

Type	I.M.s	Obv. legend	Rev. legend	Remarks
VI	Sun/Sun	RR7	ƆOV' ΘTRΘ	B.M.; unique; P3 (Pl. VIII, 7).

COINS OF THE NORWICH MINT, 1465

GROATS

Ɔ on breast; quatrefoils by bust; large fleurs on cusps; saltire stops. R1, R2, or R3.

Type	I.M.s	Obv. legend	Rev. legend	Remarks
Mule VI/V	Sun/Rose	RR7NƆ	NORWIC'	B.M. "Trefoil after CIVITAS" (Hawkins) is a faulty saltire. R.C.L. (Pl. VI, 11).
VI. 1	Sun/Sun	RR7NƆ	NORWIC'	Obv. R1, rev. R3.
2	"	RR7NƆ *	NORVIC'	Also NORVICz (Pl. VI, 12).
3	"	RR7N	NORWIC'	Also POSVIz; DEΘ for DEVM

A coin without quatrefoils by the bust, illustrated in *Num. Chron.*, 1909, Pl. XI, 10, is said to have a Rose I.M. both sides; it is clearly of local work and perhaps of doubtful authenticity; it has no Ɔ on the breast.

HALF-GROATS

No Ɔ on breast; saltires by bust; small trefoils on cusps, none on breast.

Type	I.M.s	Obv. legend	Rev. legend	Remarks
VI	Sun/Sun	RR7	NORVIC'	B.M.; also Hunterian Colln.; P3 (Pl. VIII, 8).

COINS OF THE YORK ROYAL MINT, 1465-70

GROATS

Æ on breast; normally no ornaments on cusps over crown. Legends as on London coins, but **ÆBORȚCI**

Type VI

I.M.s Sun/Sun. Quatrefoils by bust; large fleurs on cusps; saltire stops.

Variant: Æ on breast struck over a fleur.

R1, R2 or R3.

Type VII. During this issue cusp ornaments change from large fleurs to small trefoils.

(a) I.M.s Lis/Crown. Quatrefoils by bust; large fleurs; saltire stops (Pl. VI, 1).

(b) I.M.s Lis/Lis.

Variant: Rev. I.M. struck over Crown. " "

Mules (a or b)/(c). I.M.s Lis/Lis. Obv. as (a), rev. stops trefoils or mixed saltires and trefoils or none.

Variant: Rev. mixed stops in outer legend with **QIVITTS**.

Mules (c)/(a) I.M.s Lis/Crown. Quatrefoils by bust; small trefoils on cusps; saltire stops.

(c) I.M.s Lis/Lis. Quatrefoils by bust; small trefoils on cusps; stops, obv. saltires, rev. trefoils or mixed or none.

Variants: 1. Saltire or mixed stops in outer legend.

2. **QIVITTS**.

Lettering R4.

Mule VIIa/VIIIa

I.M.s Lis/Sun. Quatrefoils by bust; large fleurs; saltire stops or on rev. none.

Variant: **ÆBORȚCI**

R4 on rev. (if R3, Mule would be VII/VI).

Type VIII

(a) I.M.s Sun/Sun. Quatrefoils by bust, trefoils on cusps; saltire stops or on rev. none (Pl. VI, 3).

Mule (b)/(a). I.M.s Lis/Sun. Quatrefoils by bust, small trefoils; saltire stops or on rev. none.

Variants: 1. Trefoils over crown, with **EDWȚD** (Pl. VI, 4).

2. R5 on obverse.

(b) I.M.s Lis/Lis. Quatrefoils by bust, small trefoils; stops, obv. saltires, trefoils or none, rev. saltires or none.

Variants:

1. No Æ or trefoil on breast; rev. I.M. over Sun; three obv. dies noted with two rev. dies (Pl. VI, 6).

2. Obv. I.M. over Crown, rev. I.M. over Sun; different rev. die from above (Pl. VI, 5).

3. Obv. I.M. over Crown.

4. Trefoils over crown.

R4 both sides or (Pl. VI, 7) R5.

Mule X/VIIIa

I.M.s Lis/Sun. Obv. as X; rev. as VIIIa; R5 on obverse, R4 on reverse.

Type X

I.M.s Lis/Sun. Trefoils by bust; stops, obv. trefoils, rev. saltires or none.

Variants:

1. Trefoils on cusps over crown.

2. **RRȚD** (Pl. VI, 8).

3. **RRȚD** ÷

R5 both sides.

Type XI

I.M.s Lis/Lis. Trefoils by bust and on cusps; stops, *obv.* saltires or trefoils, *rev.* saltires or none.

Variants:

1. **RRTN** (same die as type X, var. 2).
2. **RRTNQ** ∴ (same die as type X, var. 3).
3. **Θ** on breast over a trefoil.
4. Trefoils on cusps over crown.

R5.

HALF-GROATS.

Type VI

I.M.s Sun/Sun. Quatrefoils by bust; large fleurs on cusps, and on breast, none over crown; saltire stops.

RRT'; P₃ in **POSVI**

(Pl. VI, 13.) B.M.; C.E.B.

Type VII

1. I.M.s Lis/Lis. Quatrefoils or saltires by bust; small trefoils on *all* cusps; stops, *obv.* saltires, *rev.* saltires or none. One reads **RRTN** B.M.

2. I.M.s Lis/Lis. Saltires by bust; small trefoils on cusps except over crown; stops, *obv.* none, *rev.* saltires.

RRT'

C.E.B.

Mule VII₂/VIII

I.M.s Lis/(None) (Lis after **POSVI**); quatrefoils by bust.

B.M.

Type VIII

I.M.s Lis/(None). **Θ** on breast; quatrefoils by bust; small trefoils on cusps except over crown; stops, *obv.* saltires, *rev.* trefoils.

Rev. I.M. Lis after **POSVI** (two dies noted).

RRTN

(Pl. VI, 14.) C.A.W.

Mule X/VIII

I.M.s Lis/(None). Trefoils by bust; trefoils on cusps except over crown; trefoil stops.

Rev. I.M. Lis after **POSVI**

RRTN

C.A.W.

Type X

I.M.s Lis/Lis. Trefoils by bust; trefoils on all cusps except breast; no stops.

RRTN

(Pl. VI, 15.) E.J.W.

HALFPENCE. I.M. Lis on *obv.* only.

Type	By bust	Obv. legend	Source
VII	× ×	Uncertain (rev. ΘBORTN)	Montagu, v. 217.
VIII. 1	∴ ∴	EDWTRD DI GRN REX'	C.E.B. (Pl. VII, 21).
2	"	REX TNG(L)	C.E.B.
3	"	EDWTR . . . RT' REX ∴	B.M.
4	"	EDWTRD DI GRN REX T	Montagu, ii. 630.

COINS OF THE CANTERBURY ECCLESIASTICAL MINT, 1464-7(?)

HALF-GROATS

(The obverse I.M. Pall sometimes encloses a cross in the fork)

Type Va

I.M. *obv.* Pall.

rev. Pall, or Rose, or none.

Quatrefoils by bust, sometimes omitted.

Large fleurs on cusps.

Knot below bust; spur in one quarter of reverse.

Legends as on London coins but read **CTN TOR**; stops saltires, often omitted.

	<i>I.M.</i>	<i>By bust</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1	Pall/(None)	—	RRN ; see <i>B.N.J.</i> xxi, Pl. 1, 21, or Bruun Sale 515; same obv. die found with four different reverses with spur in each of the 4 quarters, all with P ₃ (Pl. VII, 12).
2	Pall/Pall	—	RRN or RRNN ; spur under TOR ; P ₃ on some.
3	Pall/Rose	—	RRN ; " CTN ; P ₃ .
4	"	✧ ✧	RRN or RRNN ; " TOR (Pl. VII, 11).
5	"	"	" " " CIVI ; P ₃ on some.

Type Vb

As Va, but small trefoils *vice* fleurs on cusps.

	<i>I.M.</i>	<i>By bust</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1	Pall/(None)	—	RRN or RR ; spur under TAS ; P ₃ .
2	Pall/Pall	—	RRNN ; " TOR
3	"	✧ ✧	" TOR ; one has TAS under POSVI (Pl. VII, 13).
4	Pall/Rose	"	RRN ; spur under TAS

Mules V1b/Vb

I.M. *obv.* Pall.

rev. Pall or Rose.

As Vb (with small trefoils on cusps), but in lieu of quatrefoils, four² irregular pellets ("wedges"), two by hair and two by bust.

	<i>I.M.</i>	<i>By bust</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1	Pall/Pall	"Wedges"	RRN ; spur under TOR ; for one with TAS under POSVI see <i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1909, Pl. xiv, 7.
2	Pall/Rose	"	RRN ; spur under TAS

Type VIa

I.M. *obv.* Pall.

rev. None.

As Vb, but saltires *vice* quatrefoils by bust; some omit stops on reverse.

	<i>I.M.</i>	<i>By bust</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1	Pall/(None)	× ×	RRNNQ ; spur under TAS (with MAV) or TOR ; P ₃ on both reverses; one reads RN S RRNNQ
2	"	"	R' ; spur under TAS , or under TOR ; MAV also with each.

Mule VIa/V1b

1	Pall/Sun	"	R' ; spur under CIVI (Pl. VII, 14).
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Mule V1b/VIa

1	Pall/(None)	✧ ✧	R' ; quatrefoils struck over two lower wedges; for same obv. die see below type V1b, no. 3; spur under CTN
2	"	"	RRNNQ ; spur under CTN or CIVI

¹ At least three different dies show this transposition, which thus seems intentional.

² The number actually visible varies.

*Type VIb*I.M. *obv.* Pall.*rev.* Sun.

As VIa, but, at first, "wedges", later, quatrefoils by bust.

	<i>I.M.</i>	<i>By bust</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1	Pall/Sun	"Wedges"	RRN; spur under CIVI or CTN
2	"	"	RRNQ; spur under TOR
3	"	✧ ✧	R; quatrefoils ¹ struck over two lower wedges; same <i>obv.</i> die as Mule VIb/VIa; spur under CIVI
4	"	"	R; spur under CIVI
5	"	"	RRNQ; spur under CTN

The following coins which omit either the knot on the obverse or the spur on the reverse are considered as mules with type VII.

*Mules VIb/VII**Obv.* as VIb, *rev.* no. I.M., no spur.

	<i>I.M.</i>	<i>By bust</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1	Pall/(None)	"Wedges"	RRN (Pl. VII, 15).
2	"	✧ ✧	RRNQ and RRN (with EDWARD)

*Mule VII/VIa*I.M. *obv.* Pall.*rev.* None.

Quatrefoils by bust, no knot.

	<i>I.M.</i>	<i>By bust</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1	Pall/(None)	✧ ✧	RRN; spur under CIVI (Pl. VII, 16).

*Mules VII/VIb*I.M. *obv.* Pall.*rev.* Pall.

Quatrefoils, or nothing, by bust; no knot.

	<i>I.M.</i>	<i>By bust</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1	Pall/Pall	—	RRNQ; TTS under POSVI; spur under TOR
2	"	✧ ✧	RR'; spur under TOR

PENCE.

I.M. (*obv.* only) Pall; quatrefoils or saltires by bust, rarely omitted; knot on breast breaking the legend; spur in one quarter; legends as at London, but CTNTOR. Some may belong to type V.

<i>Type VI</i>	<i>By bust</i>	<i>Spur</i>	<i>Obv. legend</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1	—	CIVI	RRX NN	R.C.L. (Pl. VIII, 9).
2	× ×	" (?)	"	C.E.B., <i>ex</i> Morrieson 205 (<i>ill.</i>); saltire stops on obverse.
3	"	TTS	?	R.C.L.
4	✧ ✧	"	RRX NN	L.A.L., <i>ex</i> Longbottom 184.
5	"	TOR	?	B.M. See <i>English Coins</i> , Pl. xxxv, 9. R ₃ on reverse; saltire stops on obverse.

¹ The transition indicated by the alteration of the neck ornaments seems to warrant the inclusion of both kinds in this group.

Mules VII/VI

As type VI, but *no knot*.

	By bust	Spur	Obv. legend	Remarks
1	× ×	CIVI	REX ANO	E.J.W.
2	✠ ✠	TAS	AN	R.C.L.

Type VII, No knot or spur.

I.M. Pall, crosses by bust, EDWARD × DI × GRAT REX ANO; C.A.W.

(Pl. VIII, 11)

COINS OF THE CANTERBURY ROYAL MINT, 1st reign, c. 1467-9

HALF-GROATS

Type VII

I.M. *obv.* Crown.

rev. Crown or none.

Quatrefoils or saltires (or mill-rinds) by bust; small trefoils on cusps, sometimes omitted on breast or over crown; saltire stops, often omitted.

	I.M.	By bust	On breast	Over Crown	Remarks
1	Crown/Crown	✠ ✠	—	✠	RR
2	Crown/(None)	"	—	"	—
3	"	× ×	—	"	RR (Pl. VII, 17).
4	Crown/Crown	"	—	"	"

Mules VIII/VII

As type VII, but trefoils by bust.

	I.M.	By bust	On breast	Over Crown	Remarks
1	Crown/Crown	✠ ✠	—	✠	RR (Pl. VII, 18).
2	"	"	—	—	"

Type VIII

I.M. *obv.* Crown.

rev. None or, later, Sun.

As type VII, but trefoils by bust.

	I.M.	By bust	On breast	Over Crown	Remarks
1	Crown/(None)	✠ ✠	—	—	RR
2	"	"	—	✠	"
3	"	"	✠	—	"
4	Crown/Sun	"	—	—	R (Pl. VII, 19).
5	"	"	—	✠	RR

Mule IX/VIII

I.M. *obv.* Rose.

rev. Sun.

See Seaby's lists, Jan. 1939.

*Type IX*I.M. *obv.* Rose.*rev.* Rose.

Otherwise as VIII, saltire stops both sides.

	I.M.	By bust	On breast	Over Crown	Remarks
I	Rose/Rose	∴ ∴	—	—	FRANK; see <i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1909, Pl. XII, 2. (Pl. VII, 20).

PENCE

I.M. Crown. Quatrefoils by bust.

Type VII

	<i>Obv. legend</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
I	DI GRAN REX ANGL	R.C.L. (Pl. VIII, 10).

HALFPENCE

I.M. Crown.

Type VII

Saltires or mill-rinds by bust; legend ends REX; C.E.B. (Pl. VII, 23.)

*Type VIII*Trefoils by bust; legend ends REX; Baldwin, *ex* Longbottom, 200 (i) (*ill.*).

GOLD OF THE FIRST REIGN

ANGELS OF 1465-70

Type V

1. I.M. Rose, on reverse only. Large Rose to left, medium-sized Sun to right of cross on reverse. Two small trefoils in field outside ropes of mast.

EDWARD * DI * GRAN * REX * ANGL * S * FRANK * DNS * HIBERNI;
saltire stops.

PER GRVCE TVN * SALVT * NOS * XPISTE * REDEPTOR; trefoil stops.

77 grs. The late Lord Ellesmere's Coll. (*Brit. Num. Journ.* xxii. 193, Pl. no 3).2. Type as last, but larger Sun to right of cross on reverse.
EDWARD * DI * GRAN * REX * ANGL * S * FRANK * DNS * I * B *;
trefoil stops.

PER * GRVCE * TVN * SALVT * NOS * XPC * RE * DEPTOR; trefoil stops.

B.M. (*Brit. Num. Journ.* xxii. 193, Pl. no. 4; for three others from the same pair of dies see Montagu, ii. 592, 78 grs., Bruun 499, 78.5 grs. and one in the Brussels Museum).
R.C.L. (Pl. VIII, 18.)*Type VII*I.M. Crown on reverse only. Small Sun to left, small Rose to right of cross on reverse.
No trefoils in the field on reverse.* EDWARD * DI * GRAN * REX * ANGL * S * FRANK * DNS * I * B *;
saltire stops.

PER * GRVCE * TVN * SALVT * NOS * XPC REDEPTOR; trefoil stops.

Hunterian Museum; B.M. (*Brit. Num. Journ.* xxii. 193, Pl. no. 5). (Pl. VIII, 19.)The lettering on all three classes of coins shows the small fount of the half-groats, but includes P₃ of the groat fount; the lettering on the reverse of type V₂, however, is entirely from the groat fount and includes R₃.

RYALS

Normal legends: EDWARD DI GRÆ REX ANGL S RRRND DRS IB and
 IRG AVT TRRNSIENS PER MEDIVM ILLORV(M) IBTT

The stops are usually trefoils, with an occasional quatrefoil, lis, or rose, and their position varies widely; the ship ornaments are Lis, Lion, (Rose), Lion, Lis.

LONDON

Type V

I.M. Rose on both sides or reverse only; large fleurs in spandrels.

1. I.M. on both sides (more rarely **Pl. IX, 1**; L.A.L.). All the coins we have seen with I.M. on both sides are struck from the same obverse die (L.A.L.; R.C.L.; B.M.). The same die is also found muled with a reverse of type VI with I.M. Sun.
 2. I.M. on reverse only (**Pl. IX, 4**; C.E.B.; see also *Num. Chron.*, 1909, Pl. XI, 1). Several pairs of dies known; the reading **ILLORV** is frequent.
- Lettering, R1, R2, R3.

Mule V/VI.

I.M.s Rose/Sun; large fleurs in spandrels; same obverse die as type V, 1 (B.M. countermarked with arms of Danzig; E.C.C.; Baldwin).

Lettering noted, R2.

Mules VI/V

Large fleurs in spandrels.

1. I.M.s Sun/Rose; the obverse I.M. is below the sail; B.M.
2. I.M.s None/Rose.

Variants: 1. Obverse ends **I.B::**; same obverse die as type VI, 2(a).

2. Fleurs-de-lis in obverse legend; same obverse die as type VI, 2(b), variant 1 (**Pl. IX, 2**; Ashmolean).

Type VI

I.M. Sun on both sides or reverse only; large fleurs in spandrels.

1. I.M. Sun on both sides:
 - (a) Obv. I.M. below sail; the spellings **h.I.B** (for **IB**) and **hIBTT** and **IBTT** (for **IBTT**) are recorded.
 - (b) Obv. I.M. above sail; see *Num. Chron.*, 1909, Pl. XII, 5.

Variant: **RRRND::** with **TRRNNIENS**
2. I.M. Sun on reverse only:
 - (a) Obv. ends **I.B::**; same obverse die as mule VI/V, 2; see Fischenich find, *Num. Chron.*, 1893, Pl. III, 4; B.M.
 - (b) Fleurs-de-lis in obverse legend (sometimes erroneously attributed to Calais):

Variants: 1. **✠DRS.I.B✠**; same obv. die as mule VI/V, 2 (**Pl. IX, 3**; B.M.). See also Walters, 1913, 378.

2. **..DRS✠IB✠**; St. Albans find, *Num. Chron.*, 1886, p. 187, no. 3.

3. **✠DRS IB✠**; B.M.

Lettering, R1, R2, R3.

Type VII

I.M. Crown on reverse only; large fleurs in spandrels.

- Variants: 1. Ship ornaments, Lis, Lion, Lion, Lis, Lis; B.M.
2. **::DRS**; B.M. (several dies known), one with **RRNDIG**
 3. Fleurs-de-lis in obv. legend which ends **DRS✠I✠B.✠** (**Pl. IX, 5**; Baldwin).
 4. Rev. ends **IBTT::**; L.A.L.
 5. Reversed abbreviation mark ("crescent") after **AVT?** (*sic*); see e.g. North Country Collector sale, lot 3, Glendining, May 1939; this widespread feature is found also on some Bristol ryals of type VII.

The following spellings are recorded: **TR̃NSIEN**, with **HIBTT** (Bruun, 472); **TR̃NSIENS** (B.M.); **TR̃NSIENS**; **TR̃NSIENS**; **ILLOVM**. The well-known "Flemish" imitations commonly read **IND** (for **IND**) and **RR̃N**

Lettering, R4.

Mule VIII/VII

I.M. Crown on reverse only; large fleurs in spandrels.

Pellet below shield; **RR̃N**.; ::; L.A.L. The same obverse die is found on a true coin of type VIII (e.g. Wertheimer 99).

Lettering, R4.

N.B. *The large fleurs in the spandrels on the reverse now change to small trefoils.*

Type VIII(A)

I.M. Crown on reverse; small trefoils in spandrels.

Variants: 1. Pellet below shield (cf. York, VIII, 2); **RR̃N**.; ::; Wertheimer 99, same obv. die as mule VIII/VII.

2. Same obv. die, reverse shows **TR̃NSIENS** with **I::BTT**; L.A.L. and B.M.

3. No pellet below shield, with, on rev., **TR̃NSIENS**; B.M.

4. No pellet; normal legends but no hinges on rudder of ship; Baldwin.

5. No pellet; obv. ends with 2 saltires: **I::B::** with, on reverse, **ILLOVM** (Pl. IX, 6; B.M.).

6. No pellet on obv.: rev. all trefoil stops except **PER**; B.M.

Lettering, R4.

Type VIII(B)

I.M. Sun struck over Crown (cf. London Half-ryal VIII(B)), small trefoils in spandrels.

Pellet below shield; ::**ONS**.; **I::B** (Pl. IX, 7; B.M.). Some of the lettering on this coin is quite abnormal, the obverse shows R3 of e.g. type VI (which never shows a pellet below the shield), and the reverse what is perhaps R1; the small fleurs in the spandrels, however, show the true position of the coin.

Mule VIII/X

I.M. Long Cross Fitchy on reverse; small trefoils in spandrels; Foreign Collector sale, 47 (Sotheby 1930, *ill.*); also B.M.

Lettering, R4 on obverse, R5 on reverse.

Type X

I.M. Long Cross Fitchy on reverse; small trefoils in the spandrels on the reverse (see e.g. Walters, 1913, 376, or Montagu, v. 196).

Variants: 1. Small letters on obverse, reading **DEI** (Pl. X, 1; B.M.; cf. also Bruun 475).

2. Lions only (no lis) on ship; Gantz 1142, *ex* Waite-Sanderson 374.

3. A trefoil missing from one spandrel; Grantley 1667.

The spelling **MEIVM** (for **MEIVM**) is recorded.

Lettering, R5.

BRISTOL

B in waves

Type VI

I.M. Sun on reverse; large fleurs in spandrels.

Variants: 1. Rose in reverse legend, with **P** for **PER**, which ends **I::BTT** (cf. Coventry VI, 2); *Num. Chron.*, 1909, Pl. XII, 8. A similar but different reverse die is combined with the obverse die of variant 2 below; R.C.L.

2. **RR̃N**., with, on reverse, **HIBTT**; Brooke, *English Coins*, Pl. XXXIII, 16.

Lettering noted, R2, R3.

Type VII

I.M. Crown on reverse; large fleurs in spandrels.

Variants: 1. **RRND::**; B.M. *ex* Cassal 209 (countermarked).

2. Reversed abbreviation mark ("crescent") after **TVT** (sic); Bruun 477, Waite-Sanderson 375, Wills 26 (all from same obverse die), and Thornburn 138.

3. Normal legends but no fleurs in spandrels; Spink, *Num. Circ.*, May 1907.

Lettering, R4.

Mule VII/VIII

I.M. Crown on reverse; small trefoils in spandrels.

Same obverse die as Bruun 477, &c. (VII, 2 above); reverse, same die as VIII, 1 below; Spink, *Num. Circ.*, Sept.-Oct. 1923 (*ill.*).

Lettering, R4.

Type VIII

I.M. Crown on reverse; small trefoils in spandrels.

Normal legends, same reverse die as Mule VII/VIII above; Baldwin.

Variant: Normal legends but no ornaments on ship; trefoils on cusps of tressure on reverse; a trefoil missing from one spandrel; from the same obverse die as mule VIII/X below (Pl. X, 2; R.C.L.).

Lettering, R4.

Mule VIII/X

I.M. Sun on reverse; small trefoils in spandrels. Same obverse die as VIII, variant above, no ornaments on ship (Pl. X, 3; from a cast at the British Museum, *ex* P. Carlyon-Britton collection).

Lettering, R4 on obverse, R5 on reverse.

COVENTRY

Q in waves

Type VI

I.M. Sun on reverse; large fleurs in spandrels. Normal legends; **RRNDQ**; B.M.

Variants: 1. **RRND::** (cf. Norwich VI, variant); Bruun 479 or *Num. Chron.*, 1909, Pl. XII, 10 (Pl. X, 7; R.C.L.).

2. Rose in reverse legend, with P for **PER**, which ends **QI:BT** (cf. Bristol VI, 1); Murdoch, i. 347.

Lettering, R1, R2, R3.

NORWICH

R in waves

Type V (?)

I.M. Rose on reverse; large fleurs in spandrels. Montagu, ii. 577 (listed later in Messrs. Spink's *Num. Circ.*, Aug. 1896 and Nov. 1899); also Manley Foster 46. No illustration appears to have been made of this coin and its present whereabouts is unknown to the writers.

Type VI

I.M. Sun on reverse; large fleurs in spandrels.

Normal legends; **RRNDQ**; Bruun 480.

Variant: **RRND::** (cf. Coventry VI, 1); Maish 151 (Pl. X, 6; R.C.L.).

Lettering noted, R1, R3.

YORK

G in waves

Type VI(A)

I.M. Sun on reverse; large fleurs in spandrels.

Saltire stops on obverse; Huth 21.

Lettering, obverse R1, reverse R2.

Type VI(B)

I.M.s Sun and Lis on reverse (* : ♣); large fleurs in spandrels.

Obverse ends **IB'::**; *Num. Chron.*, 1909, Pl. xiv, 2, or Rashleigh 727 (same two dies). The same obverse die is found with a similar but different reverse die (R.C.L.), and with a true reverse showing lis only.

Since the lettering shows R4 on both sides, this coin may possibly be a true coin of type VII, the Sun being perhaps added as a privy mark to the normal I.M. Lis of type VII. The large fleurs in the spandrels, however, preclude the association of the Sun here with any later type.

Type VII

I.M. Lis on reverse; large fleurs in spandrels, with or without quatrefoil in obverse legend; Walters, 1913, 380 or Cassal 216 (**Pl. X, 4**; R.C.L.).

The spelling **TRWNSIENNS** is recorded; Baldwin (with same obverse die as **Pl. x, 4**).

Lettering, R4.

Type VIII

I.M. Lis on reverse; small trefoils in spandrels.

Variants: 1. **DNS IB'::**. Hilton Price 49 (*obverse only ill.*)

2. **RRWN'::DNS I::B::**; pellet below shield (cf. London VIII, 1) (**Pl. X, 5**; B.M.). See also Packe 53 (Sotheby, 25/7/31), same obverse die, with reverse showing trefoils on cusps to left and below.

Lettering, R4.

Type X(?)

I.M. Sun on both sides (above sail on obverse); small trefoils in spandrels.

Normal legends but two lions (no lis) only on ship and trefoils on all cusps on reverse; Spink, 1940.

Lettering uncertain, but possibly includes R5 (cf. Bristol mule VIII/X with I.M. Sun).

HALF-RYALS

Normal legends: **EDWARD DI GRÆ REX ANGL & FRANC** and **DOMINE
RE IN EVRORE TWO ARGVTS RE**

Many dies show the small lettering; the stops are normally trefoils (rarely saltires), with an occasional quatrefoil, lis, or rose, and their position varies widely. Normal ship ornaments are Lis, Lion, (Rose), Lion, Lis.

All coins show small trefoils in the spandrels on the reverse; large fleurs were not used on half-ryals.

LONDON

Type VI(A)

I.M. Sun on both sides (on obverse, below sail).

Normal legends; saltire stops on obverse, trefoils on reverse (**Pl. XI, 1**; R.C.L.; also B.M.).

Lettering, R1.

Type VI(B)

No I.M.

RRN (Pl. XI, 2; B.M.). The obverse shows the small lettering but the type is disclosed by R3 on the reverse, though the coin might possibly belong to type V (cf. also Bristol VI(B)).

Type VII

I.M. Crown on reverse.

Variants: 1. **RRN** (Pl. XI, 3; E.C.C.). See also Grundy sale, 12, (Glendining, 30/4/31); with small letters on reverse.

2. **RRN**. D; B.M.

3. **RRVS** **ND**; B.M.

4. Saltire stops on obv., with **DEI** and **RRN**; no trefoils in spandrels. L.A.L.

The spellings **RRN** and **RRVS** are recorded.

Lettering, R4 or from the small fount.

Type VIII(A)

I.M. Crown on reverse.

Variants: 1. Lis in waves; small letters on obverse; several dies known; B.M.

2. Pellet above shield; B.M.

Type VIII(B)

I.M. Sun struck over Crown on reverse (cf. London ryal VIII(B)).

Obverse ends **S**:/ **RRN** (Pl. XI, 5; B.M.).

The spelling **RRVS** is recorded (Moon 78).

Type VIII(C)

I.M.s Obverse Sun, reverse Crown; pellet below shield.

Obverse ends **R**:/ **RRN** * **S**:/ (Pl. XI, 4; R.C.L., also B.M.).

Type VIII(D)

I.M.s Sun and Crown on reverse; lis in waves.

Normal legends; small letters on obverse; B.M., *ex* Montagu, ii. 582.

Lettering on all coins of type VIII, R4 or from the small fount.

Type IX

I.M.s Obverse Rose, reverse Crown.

1. Lis in waves; pellet above shield; obverse ends **RR**:/ **NR** **S**:/; *Num. Chron.*, 1909, Pl. xiv, 6; B.M.

2. Lis in waves (no pellet); obverse ends **R**:/ **NR** **S**:/; reverse ends **RRVS** **ND**; (Pl. XI, 6; R.C.L., *ex* Montagu, ii. 581).

Lettering, R4, or from small fount.

Type X

I.M. Long Cross Fitchy on reverse.

Two coins are said to be known, one with trefoil stops, one, obv., trefoils, rev., saltires; see Messrs. Seaby's lists, March 1938 and December 1939 (both *ex* P. Carlyon-Britton collection: see letter of 9/xii/1929 at B.M. from P. C.-B. to Dr. Brooke). The present whereabouts of these coins is unknown.

Lettering uncertain, but probably R5 or from small fount; no illustration appears to exist.

BRISTOL

B in waves

Type VI(A)

I.M. Sun on reverse.

Variant: Rose in reverse legend; which ends **TRGVVS** ∴ **MA** ☼ ∴ (cf. Coventry VI, *variant*, and York VI, 1); Rashleigh 729 or *Num. Chron.*, 1909, Pl. XI, 9 (Pl. XI, 7; R.C.L.).The spelling **RDX** for **RXX** is recorded (Bruun 485).

Lettering noted, R2, R3.

*Type VI(B)*No I.M. Obverse legend ends **FRATNO** ∴; the type is disclosed by R3 on both sides, but the coin may possibly belong to type V (cf. London half-ryal VI(B)); BM.*Type VII*

I.M. Crown on reverse.

Variants: 1. Lis in obv. legend ending **✠S✠/✠FRATNO** with, on reverse, **TRGVVS** ∴ **MA** ∴ ∴; Drabble 115.2. Same obverse die with, on reverse, **TRGVVS** ∴ **MA** ∴ ∴; B.M.3. Obverse legend uncertain; reverse **TRGVVS** ∴ ∴; Bruun 488.4. Obverse ends ∴ ∴ **S** ∴ **FRATNO**; Wills 27.

Lettering, R4 or from small fount.

Mule VII/VIII(D)

I.M.s Sun and Crown on reverse.

Same obverse die as VII, 1 (with 3 lis in legend); reverse ends **TRGVVS** ∴ **MA** (Pl. XI, 8; R.C.L.).

Lettering, R4.

COVENTRY

C in waves

*Type VI*I.M. Sun on reverse. Normal legends; Bruun 490, *ex* Ready 462; small letters both sides. This is the only obverse die recorded.Variant: Rose in reverse legend which ends **TRGVVS** ∴ **MA** ☼ ∴; trefoils in 3 spandrels only (Pl. XI, 12; B.M.). Lettering shows R2 on reverse.

NORWICH

N in waves

*Type V*I.M. Rose on reverse. Normal legends; lions only (no lis) on ship; one pair of dies known (Pl. XI, 11; R.C.L., *ex* Montagu, ii. 588); also *Num. Chron.*, 1909, Pl. XI, 8, and Bruun 491, *ex* Ready 463.

Lettering, R2 both sides.

YORK

E in waves

Type VI

I.M. Sun on reverse.

Normal legends; Gantz 1146 or Brooke, *English Coins*, Pl. xxxiii, 17 (same two dies); R2 both sides.Variants: 1. **FR** ∴ **ATNO DNS** (several dies known), with rose in reverse legend (cf. Bristol VI, 1 and Coventry VI, *variant*) which ends **TRGVVS** ∴ **MA** ☼ ∴ (Pl. XI, 9; R.C.L.); small lettering on obverse.

2. Similar obverse legend with normal reverse; small lettering on obverse; Murdoch i, 353.

3. Normal obverse (ending **RRNNO**) with, on reverse, **TRGVVS MÆ**; R3 both sides; Glendining, 19/5/32.

Lettering noted, R2, R3 or from small fount.

Type VII

I.M. Lis on reverse. See Fletcher 39 (Glendining, 13/12/37).

Variants: 1. Reverse ends **MÆ**; no trefoils in spandrels; B.M.; cf. also Foreign Collector 58 (Sotheby 1930).

2. **✠S✠RRNNO✠**, lis and saltire stops on obverse; B.M.; cf. for another similar die Foreign Collector 57.

3. **DI✠GRN**; lis and saltire stops on obverse (Pl. XI, 10; R.C.L.).

4. Saltire stops on obverse; B.M.

5. A trefoil missing from one spandrel.

The spellings **DÆI**; **TRGVVS**, **TRGVN** are recorded.

Lettering, R4 or from small fount.

Mule VII/IX

I.M.s Rose and Lis on reverse.

Normal legends but saltire stops on obverse; R4 on reverse; B.M.

Type VIII(B)

I.M. Sun struck over Crown on reverse (cf. London VIII(B)).

Normal legends; C.E.B., *ex Gantz* 1145; see also Spink, *Num. Circ.*, Dec. 1893.

Lettering, R4, or from small fount.

Type IX

I.M.s Rose and Lis on reverse.

Normal legends.

Variants: With or without pellet above shield, reading **DÆI**; B.M.

Lettering, R4 or from small fount.

(For Quarter-ryals see next page)

KEY TO THE PLATES (IV-XI) (continued on p. 180)

R.C.L., R. C. Lockett, Esq.; E. J. W., E. J. Winstanley, Esq.; H. W. T., H. W. Taffs, Esq.; E. C. C., E. C. Carter, Esq.; V. J. E. R., The late V. J. E. Ryan; L. A. L., L. A. Lawrence, Esq.; C. E. B., C. E. Blunt, Esq.; C. A. W., C. A. Whitton, Esq.

When the provenance is not given the coin is in the collection of one of the writers.

PLATE IV

1. Light groat from heavy dies, type Va, I.M. Rose, **oo** by bust, Eye after **TAS**
2. " " " " obverse die, mule Va/c, I.M. Rose, extra pellet in one quarter, no Eye.
3. " " " " dies, type Vb, I.M. Rose, **✠✠** by bust, same obverse die as 4, trefoil on breast, Eye after **TAS**
4. " " " " dies, same obv. die as 3, new lettering on reverse, Eye after **TAS**
5. Light groat, type Vb, I.M. Rose, **GRNNOI**, no Eye; R.C.L.
6. " " mule Vb/c, I.M. Rose, no marks by bust, **RRNNO** ✠, extra pellet on reverse.
7. " " type Vc, I.M. Rose, rose on breast, extra pellet on reverse; Fitzwilliam.
8. " " mule Vd/VI, I.M.s Rose/Sun, extra pellet under **QIVI**; E. J. W.
9. " " mule VI/Vd, I.M.s Sun/Rose, no extra pellet on reverse.
10. " " type VI, I.M. Sun, no marks by bust.
11. " " type VII, I.M. Crown, no fleur on breast.
12. " " type VII, an imitation, I.M. Crown, **RRNNOVS**; cf. Pl. VI, 2; R.C.L.
13. " " mule VII/VIII, I.M.s Crown/Sun, fleur on breast; R.C.L.
14. " " mule VII/VIII, I.M.s Crown/Sun, nothing on breast, small trefoils on cusps; E. J. W.

[See also Pl. VIII, 20-3]

QUARTER-RYALS

Legends: EDWARD DI GRA REX ANGL (Σ RR) and EXAUTABITVR IN GLORIA; all have small lettering

Type	I.M.	Over Shield	L.	R.	In Spandrels	Stops		Source and remarks
						Obv.	Rev.	
V	Rose/Rose	Rose	—	—	(Nothing, 8 arches)	Lis	Trefoils (?)	B.M.; Walters Sale, 1913, 384 (ill.) ANGL A forgery?
VI/V	Sun/Rose	"	—	—	"	Saltires	Trefoils	B.M.; Num. Chron., 1909, Pl. XI, 12. ANGL Σ RR (Pl. IX, 8).
(The remainder have 4 arches to the tressure)								
V/VI	Rose/Sun	•Θ•	Rose	Sun	Trefoils	Trefoils	Roses	Rashleigh 732, or Walters 1913, 383 (same dies). ANGL Σ RR; legend starts at bottom; R.C.L. (Pl. IX, 9).
VI. 1	Sun/Sun	Θ	"	"	"	"	Trefoils	B.M.; ANGL Σ RR (Pl. IX, 10). One reads EXAUTABITVR
2	"	"	"	"	"	"	Saltires	Bruun 496a. Rose at end of obv. legend.
VII. 1	Crown/Crown	•Θ•	"	"	Pellets	"	Lis	Spink, Num. Circ., May 1938. ANGL Σ; B.M.
2	"	Θ	"	"	Trefoils	"	Trefoils	EXAUTABITVR IN GLOR; B.M. GLORIA also noted, Num. Circ., May 1907.
3	"	"	"	"	"	"	Trefoils and Roses	Drabble 117 (ill.); R.C.L. (Pl. IX, 11).
4	"	"	"	"	"	"	Trefoils and Roses	Spink, Num. Circ., July, 1939. ANGL Σ; Σ
5	"	"	"	"	"	"	Lis and Roses	Wills 30; also B.M.
6	"	"	"	"	Nothing	Saltires	Lis	Num. Chron., 1909, p. 210, 2 and Kenyon 8. DI*; ANGL Σ Σ; also R.C.L.
7	"	"	"	"	Trefoils	Trefoils	Roses	B.M.
8	"	"	"	"	Nothing	None	Trefoils and Roses	B.M.; ⚔ before rev. I.M.
9	"	"	"	"	"	"	Trefoils	B.M.; Kenyon 7.

	10	"	"	Sun	Rose	Trefoils
	11	"	"	"	"	Nothing?
	12	"	"	"	"	"?
	13	"	"	"	"	Nothing
	14	"	"	"	"	Trefoils?
	15	Lis/Crown	"	Rose	Sun	Nothing
	16	"	"	"	"	Trefoils
	17	Lis/Lis	"	"	"	"
VIII.	1	Sun over Crown/Sun over Crown	"	"	"	Nothing
	2	Sun/Crown	"	Sun	Rose	Trefoils
	3	"	"	"	"	"
	4	"	"	Sun	Rose	Trefoils
	5	"	"	"	"	"
	6	"	"	"	"	"
	7	"	"	"	"	"
	8	Sun/Crown and Sun	"	Sun	Rose	"
IX. (?)		Crown/Rose	"	Rose	Sun	Trefoils (?)
XI	1	LCF/LCF	"	"	"	"
	2	"	"	Sun	Rose	"

Trefoil and Lis	Roses	R.C.L. <i>ex</i> Walters Sale, 1913, 386. ∴ before rev. I.M. (Pl. X, 8).
Lis	Roses and Lis	Montagu, ii, 589a.
"	Lis	Montagu, ii, 589b.
"	"	Rashleigh 733, a; also B.M.
Trefoils	None?	<i>Num. Circ.</i> , Aug. 1909; ANGL ; and EX- ANTTBITVR IN GLORI ; one lis missing from rev. cross ends.
Saltires	Trefoils	V.J.E.R. ANGL * Σ *; EX-ANTTBI- TVTVR IN GLORI ; perhaps York.
Trefoils	"	R.C.L.; similar legend to 15, but GLOR (Pl. XI, 14).
"	"	<i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1909, Pl. xiv, 5. GLORIA ∴; perhaps York; also R.C.L. (Pl. XI, 13).
"	Lis	Montagu, ii, 590 (<i>ill.</i>). ANGL ∴ RR Also E.C.C. (Pl. X, 9).
"	"	Walters Sale, 1913, 385b; also B.M.
"	Trefoils	B.M.; Kenyon 3.
Trefoils	Roses	B.M.; Kenyon 4. EXANTTBITVR ; also ANGL Σ RR ; <i>Num. Circ.</i> , May 1907.
"	Roses	EXANTTBITVR ; B.M.; R.C.L. (Pl. X, 11).
"	Lis and Roses	Ready 466a; also B.M.
"	Trefoils and Roses	B.M.
Trefoils	Trefoils	Baldwin (Pl. X, 10). Type VIII, 2-8 all show same obv. die.
?	?	Mann 243.
Saltires	Trefoils	No lis below shield; ANGL * Σ *; V.J.E.R.; L.A.L.
Trefoils	Trefoils and Roses	<i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1909, Pl. xv, 13. EDWRD ; ANGL Σ ∴; R.C.L. (Pl. XI, 15).

PLATE V

1. Light groat, type VIII, I.M.s Crown/Sun, pellet before **ÆVMM**
2. " " mule IX/X, I.M.s Long Cross Fitchy/Rose, ∴ by bust, **ΛORDOO**, different rev. die from Pl. VIII, 23; C.E.B.
3. " " type Xa, I.M.s Long Cross Fitchy/Sun, × by bust; C.E.B.
4. " " type XI, I.M.s Long Cross Fitchy both sides, no marks by bust; Ashmolean Museum.
5. Bristol groat, mule VI/V, I.M.s Sun/Rose.
6. " " type VI, I.M. Sun, large fleurs on cusps.
7. " " VIIa I.M. Crown, lis after **DEVMM**
8. " " VIIa I.M. Crown, **WILLUT**
9. " " " VIIa I.M. Crown pellet stops on obverse.
10. " " mule VIIa/VIII, I.M.s Crown/Sun, large fleurs on cusps.
11. " " type VIIb, I.M. Crown, small trefoils on cusps.
12. " " " VIII, I.M.s Crown/Sun, small trefoils on cusps.
13. " " mule X/VIII, I.M. Sun, small trefoils on cusps, ∴ by bust, obv. R5, rev. R4; Ashmolean Museum.

PLATE VI

1. York groat, type VIIa, I.M.s Lis/Crown, large fleurs on cusps.
2. " " an imitation, I.M. Lis?, cf. Pl. IV, 12; E.C.C.
3. " " type VIIa, I.M. Sun, small trefoils on cusps.
4. " " mule VIIb/a, I.M.s Lis/Sun, small trefoils on cusps, **EDWTD**
5. " " type VIIb, I.M.s Lis over Crown/Lis over Sun.
6. " " " VIIb, I.M.s Lis/Lis over Sun, no **Θ** on breast.
7. " " " VIIb, I.M. Lis, ∴ by bust, R5 both sides.
8. " " " X, I.M.s Lis/Sun, ∴ by bust, R5 both sides.
9. Coventry groat, mule VI/V, I.M.s Sun/Rose.
10. " " type VI, I.M. Sun; E.J.W.
11. Norwich groat, mule VI/V, I.M.s Sun/Rose; R.C.L.
12. " " type VI, I.M. Sun; E.J.W.
13. York half-groat, type VI, I.M. Sun, ∴ by bust, large fleurs on cusps; C.E.B.
14. " " type VIII, I.M. Lis (on rev. after **POSVI**), ∴ by bust; C.A.W.
15. " " type X, I.M. Lis, ∴ by bust.

PLATE VII

1. London half-groat, type Vd, I.M. Rose on obv. only, ∴ by bust, extra pellet under **QIVI**; R.C.L.
2. " " mule VI/V, I.M. Sun on obv. only, ∴ by bust, extra pellet under **QIVI**; R.C.L.
3. " " type VIIa, I.M. Crown, ∴ by bust; E.J.W.
4. " " type VIIc, I.M. Crown, ∴ by bust, large trefoil after **POSVI** H.W.T.
5. " " type VIIa, I.M.s Crown/Sun, ∴ by bust and on breast; C.A.W.
6. " " type VIIc, I.M.s Crown/Sun, ∴ by bust, same rev. die as No. 7.
7. " " mule X/VIIc, I.M.s Long Cross Fitchy/Sun, ∴ by bust, same rev. die as No. 6; C.E.B.
8. Bristol half-groat, type VII, I.M. Crown, ∴ by bust, **BRISTOU**; R.C.L.
9. " " " VII, I.M. Crown on obverse only, ∴ by bust, **BRISTOU**; R.C.L.
10. " " " VIII, I.M.s Crown/Sun, no marks by bust, **BRISTOU**; R.C.L.
11. Canterbury (Archbishop's) half-groat, type Va, I.M.s Pall/Rose, large fleurs on cusps.
12. " " " type Va, I.M. Pall, with + in fork on obv., no marks by bust, large fleurs on cusps.

13. Canterbury (Archbishop's) half-groat, type Vb, I.M. Pall, **TTS** under **POSVI**, small trefoils on cusps.
14. " " " mule VIa/b, I.M.s Pall/Sun.
15. " " " mule VIb/VII, I.M. Pall on obv. only, "wedges" by bust, no spur on reverse.
16. " " " mule VII/VIb, I.M. Pall on obv. only, no knot on breast; E.J.W.
17. " (Royal) half-groat, type VII, I.M. Crown on obv. only, ** by bust.
18. " " " " VII, I.M. Crown, ∴ by bust.
19. " " " " VIII, I.M.s Crown/Sun, ∴ by bust.
20. " " " " IX, I.M. Rose, ∴ by bust.
21. York halfpenny, type VIII, I.M. Lis, ∴ by bust; C.E.B.
22. Bristol halfpenny, type VIII, I.M. Crown, ∴ by bust; R.C.L.
23. Canterbury halfpenny, type VII, I.M. Crown, "Mill-rinds" by bust; C.E.B.

PLATE VIII

1. London penny, type VI, I.M. Sun, ∴ by bust; B.M.
2. " " " VII, I.M. Crown, ∴ by bust; E.J.W.
3. " " " Xa, I.M. Long Cross Fitchy, ∴ by bust; Fitzwilliam Museum.
4. " " " Xb, I.M. Long Cross Fitchy, no marks by bust; B.M.
5. Bristol " " VII, I.M. Crown, ∴ by bust, **BRISTOW**; R.C.L.
6. " " " VIII, I.M. Crown, one ∴ to r. of bust; B.M.
7. Coventry half-groat, type VI, I.M. Sun, ** by bust; B.M.
8. Norwich half-groat, type VI, I.M. Sun, ** by bust; B.M.
9. Canterbury penny (Archbishop's), type V, I.M. Pall, knot on breast, spur under **QIVI**, no marks by bust; C.E.B.
10. " " (Royal), type VII, I.M. Crown, ∴ by bust; R.C.L.
11. " " (Archbishop's), type VII, I.M. Pall, ** by bust, no knot or spur; C.A.W.
12. London halfpenny, type V, I.M. Rose, ** by bust; E.J.W.
13. " " " VI I.M. Sun, ** by bust; E.J.W.
14. " " " VI, I.M. Sun, ∴ by bust; E.J.W.
15. " " " VII, I.M. Crown, ∴ by bust; E.J.W.
16. " " " Xa, I.M. Long Cross Fitchy, ∴ by bust.
17. " " " VII, I.M. Crown, ** by bust; E.J.W.
18. Early Angel, 1465-70, type V, I.M. Rose; R.C.L.
19. " " " VII, I.M. Crown; B.M.
20. London groat, type VII, I.M. Crown, fleurs-de-lis stops on obverse; L.A.L.
21. " " type VII, I.M. Crown (on reverse after **POSVI**), small trefoils on cusps; L.A.L.
22. " " mule IX/VIII, I.M.s Rose and Crown/Sun; B.M.
23. " " type IX, I.M.s Crown/Rose, **LONDON**, different die from Pl. V, 2; L.A.L.

PLATE IX

1. London ryal, type V, I.M. Rose both sides; L.A.L.
2. " " mule VI/V, I.M. Rose on reverse, fleurs-de-lis in obverse legend; same obverse die as IX, 3; Ashmolean Museum.
3. " " type VI, I.M. Sun in reverse, same obverse die as IX, 2; B.M.
4. " " type V, I.M. Rose on reverse.
5. " " type VII, I.M. Crown, fleurs-de-lis in obverse legend; Baldwin.
6. " " type VIII, I.M. Crown, ** above sail; B.M.
7. " " VIII, I.M. Sun (over Crown), pellet below shield; B.M.
8. Quarter-ryal, mule VI/V, I.M.s Sun/Rose, early style with rose above shield; B.M.
9. " mule V/VI, I.M.s Rose/Sun, obv. legend starts at bottom; R.C.L.

10. Quarter-ryal, type VI, I.M. Sun; B.M.

11. " type VII, I.M. Crown, rose to l., sun to r. of shield; R.C.L.

PLATE X

1. London ryal, type X, I.M. Long Cross Fitchy, small letters on obverse; B.M.

2. Bristol ryal, type VIII, I.M. Crown, no ornaments on ship, same obv. die as X, 3; R.C.L.

3. " " mule VIII/X, I.M. Sun, same obverse die as X. 2., reverse shows R5; cast at B.M. *ex* P. Carlyon-Britton colln.).

4. York ryal, type VII, I.M. Lis, large fleurs in spandrels; R.C.L.

5. " " type VIII, I.M. Lis, small trefoils in spandrels, pellet below shield; B.M.

6. Norwich ryal, type VI, I.M. Sun; R.C.L.

7. Coventry ryal, type VI, I.M. Sun; R.C.L.

8. Quarter-ryal, type VII, I.M. Crown, sun to l., rose to r. of shield; R.C.L.

9. " " VIII, I.M. Sun (over Crown); E.C.C.

10. " " VIII, I.M.s Sun/Sun and Crown; Baldwin.

11. " " VIII, I.M.s Sun/Crown; R.C.L.

PLATE XI

1. London half-ryal, type VI, I.M. Sun both sides; R.C.L.

2. " " " VI, No I.M.; B.M.

3. " " " VII, I.M. Crown; E.C.C.

4. " " " VIII, I.M.s Sun/Crown; pellet below shield; R.C.L.

5. " " " VIII, I.M. Sun (over Crown); B.M.

6. " " " IX, I.M.s Rose/Crown, lis in waves; R.C.L.

7. Bristol " " VI, I.M.s Rose and Sun; R.C.L.

8. " " " VIII, I.M.s Sun and Crown; R.C.L.

9. York " " " VI, I.M.s Rose and Sun; R.C.L.

10. " " " VII, I.M. Lis; R.C.L.

11. Norwich " " " V, I.M. Rose; R.C.L.

12. Coventry " " " VI, I.M.s Rose and Sun; B.M.

13. Quarter-ryal, type VII, I.M. Lis; R.C.L.

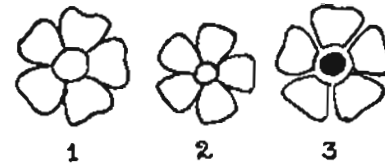
14. " " " VII, I.M.s Lis/Crown; R.C.L.

15. " " " XI, I.M. Long Cross Fitchy; R.C.L.

CORRIGENDA TO PART I

p. 17. Edward IV was not the great-grandson but the great-great-grandson of Edward III.

p. 50. *Durham pence*. Delete type (c). A note among Brooke's papers shows the coin to have been cited in error in *English Coins*, *p.* 157.



1

2

3



4

TYPES 1-VII
AND
XVIII-XXII



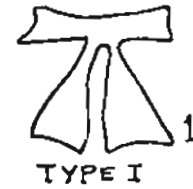
5

V AND
VII-XV
HEN.VI



6

XV-XVIII



1

TYPE I



2

I



3

XI-XIII
HEN.VI



4

XIV



1

II



2

Vb-Vc



3

Vd-XVIII
HEN.VI



1

III



2

III, IV, Va



1

Vd, VI



2

Vd VI



3

Vd VI



4

VII-IX



5

IX(REV)-XVIII
HEN.VI



6

XVIII-XXII



7

XXI



1

VIII-XI
HEN.VI



2

X-XII
HEN.VI



XIV-XVIII



"POTHOOK" V & A
XVIII-XXI



5

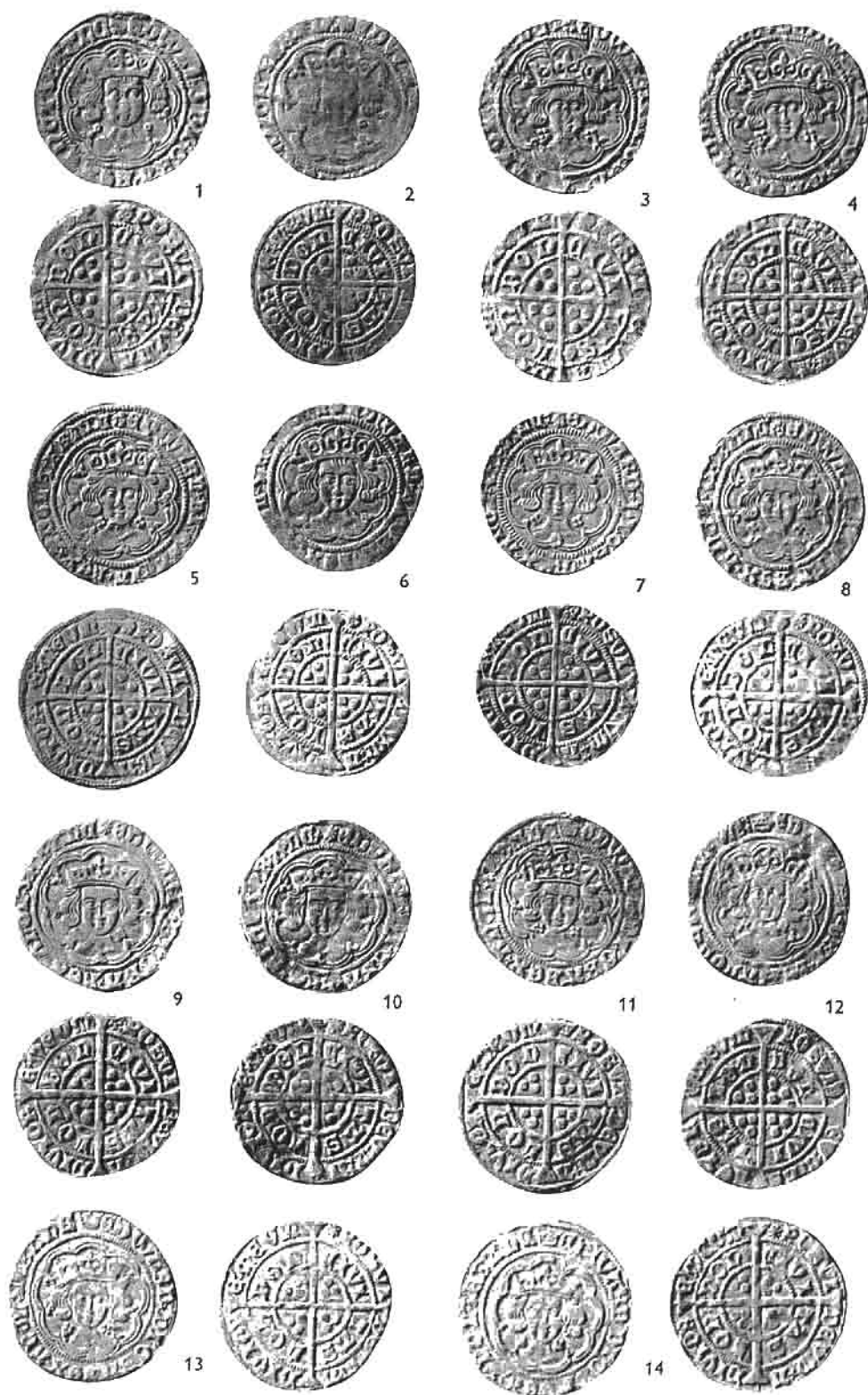
XV-XVIII
HALF-GROATS & GOLD



6



XVIII-XXI



EDWARD IV, 1464-70
LIGHT GROATS, LONDON



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



10



11



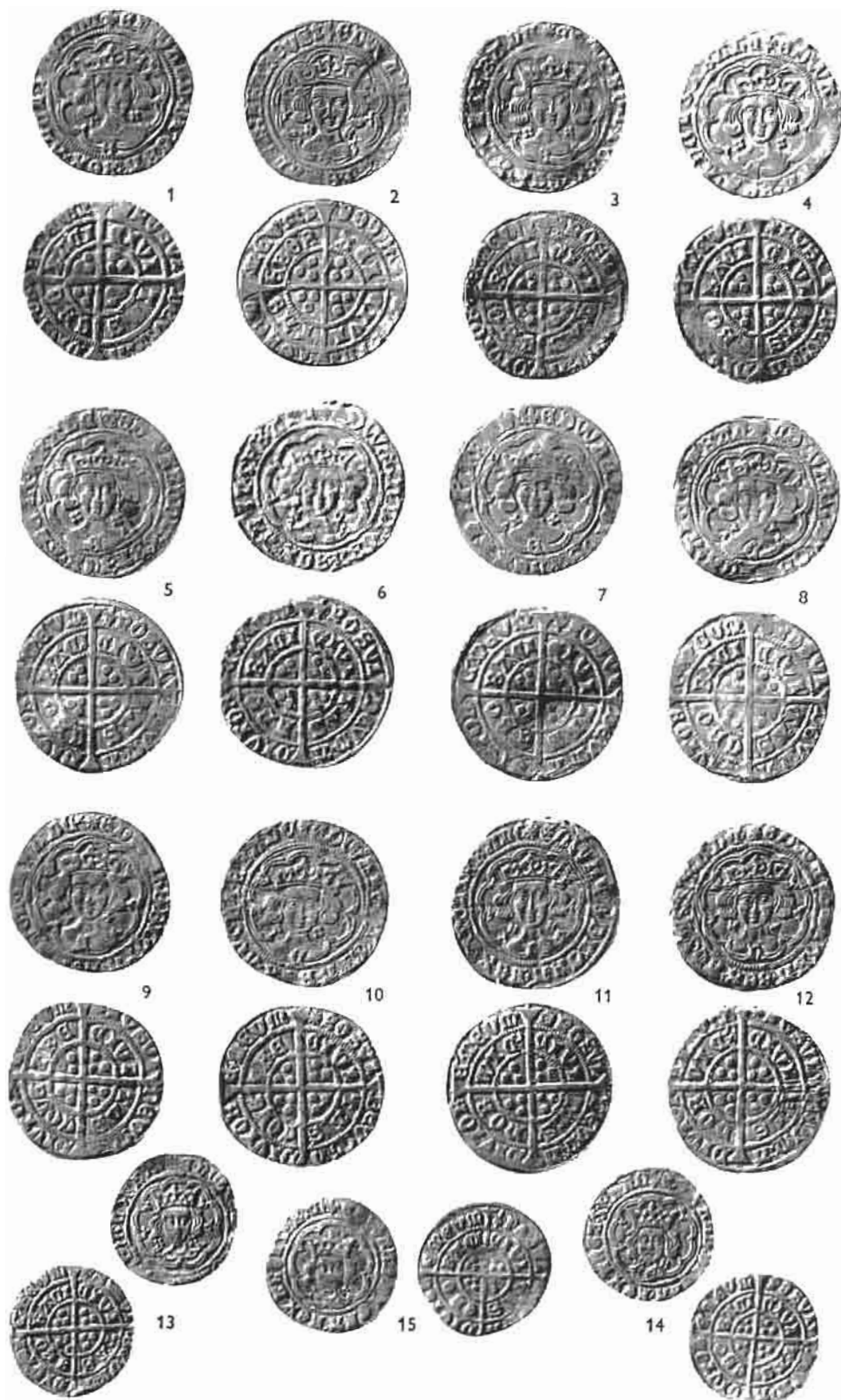
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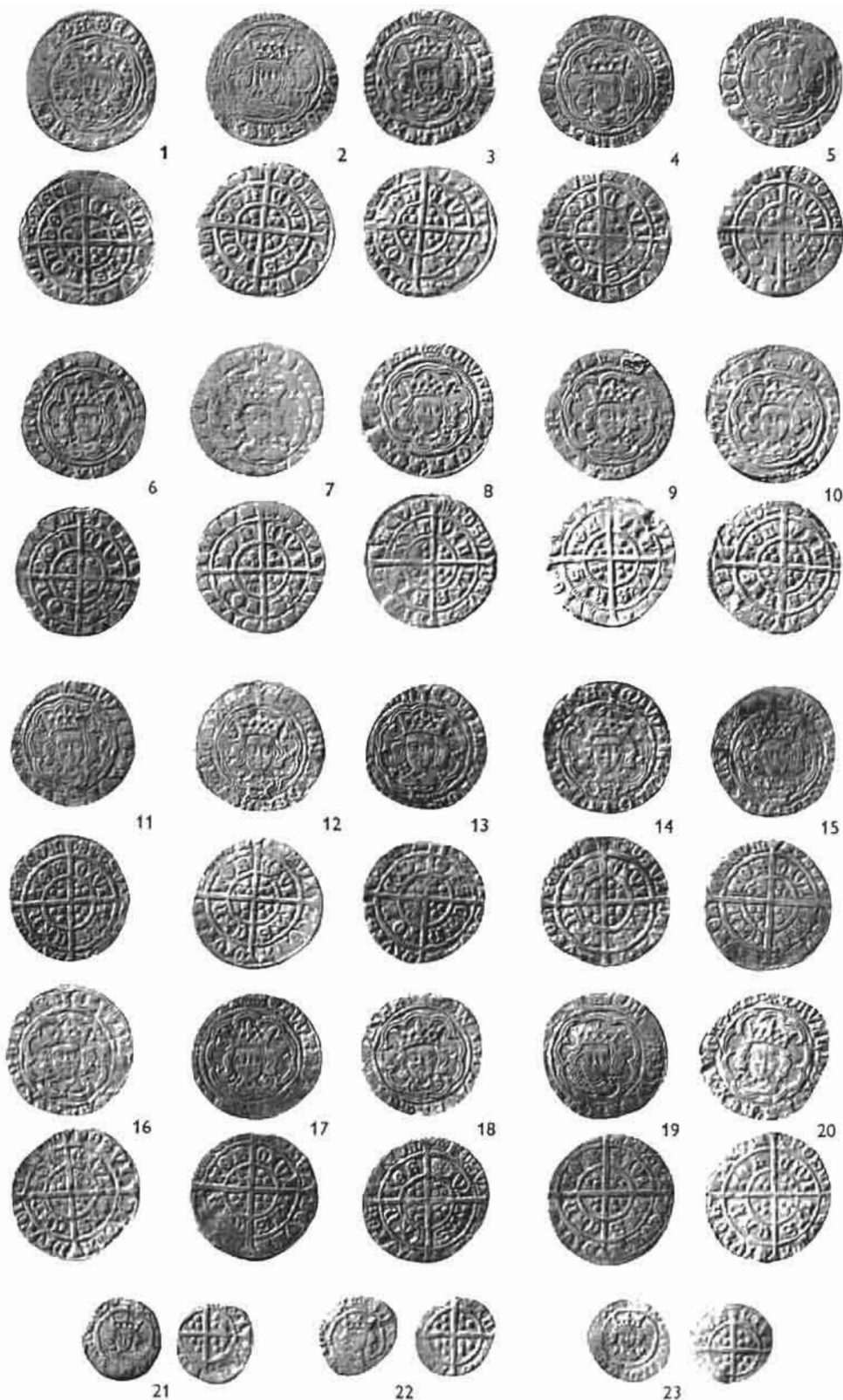
13



EDWARD IV, 1464-70
LIGHT GROATS, LONDON AND BRISTOL

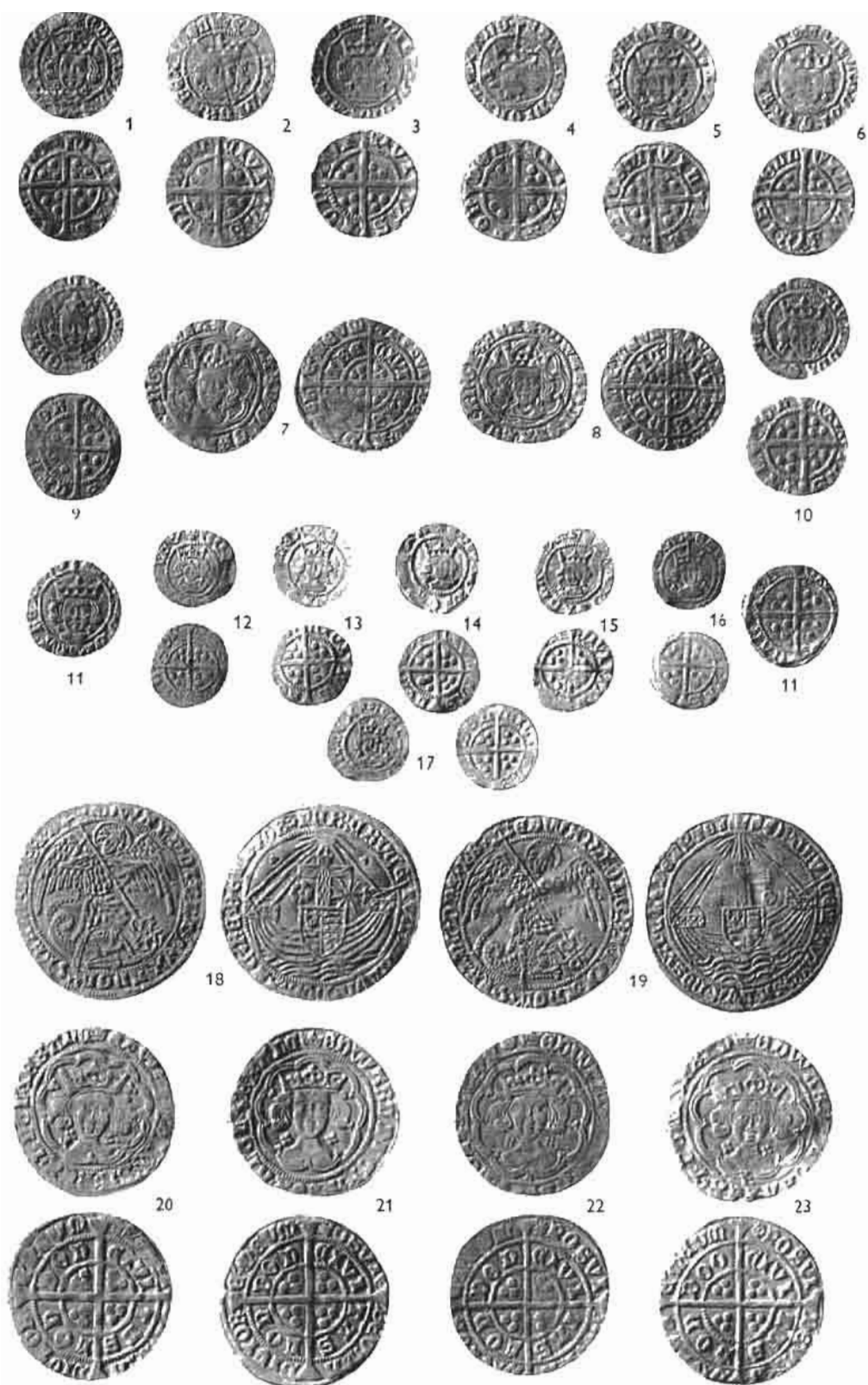


EDWARD IV, 1464-70
 LIGHT GROATS, YORK, COVENTRY, AND NORWICH
 YORK HALF-GROATS

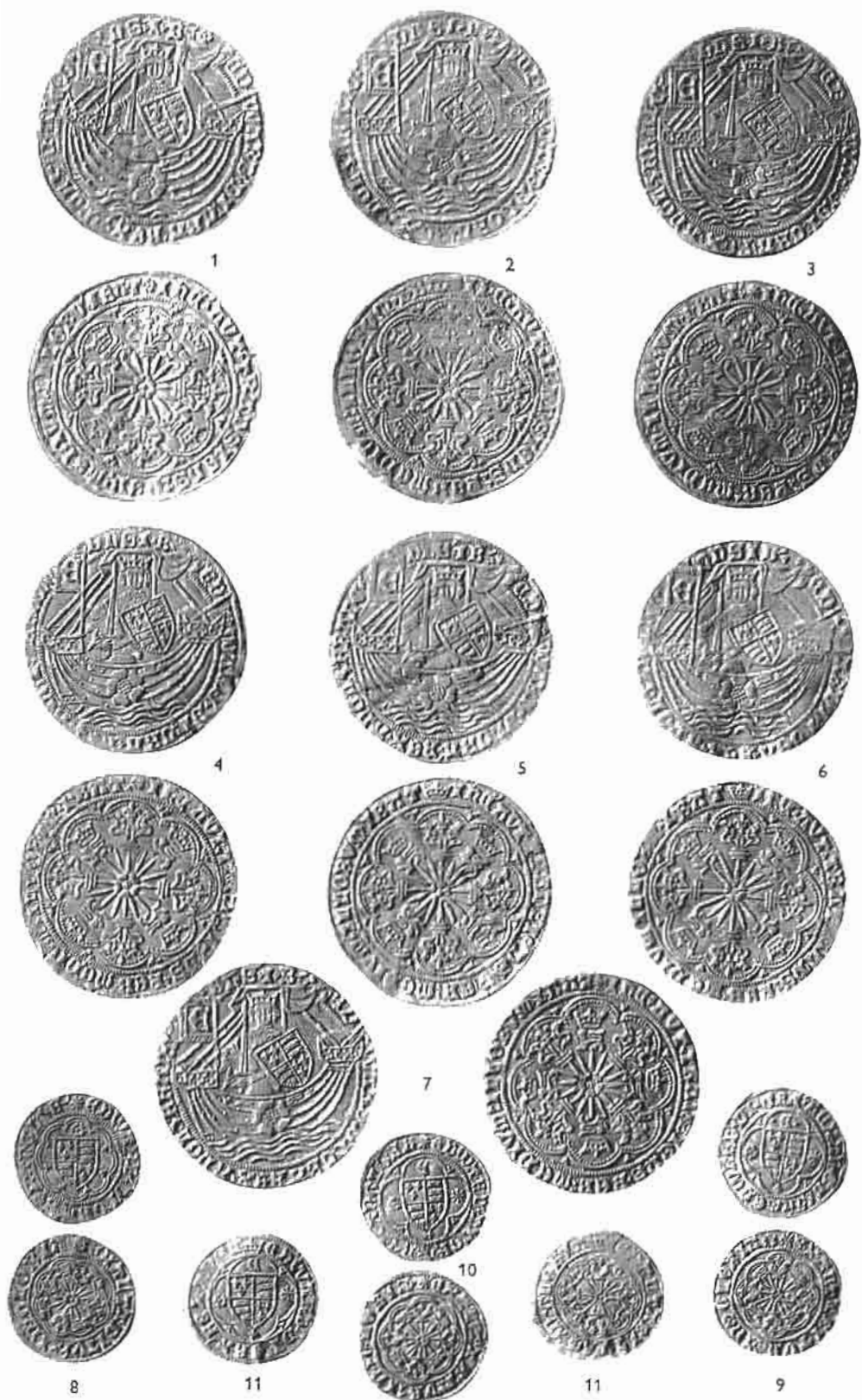


EDWARD IV, 1464-70

LIGHT HALF-GROATS, LONDON, BRISTOL, AND CANTERBURY
HALFPENCE, YORK, BRISTOL, AND CANTERBURY



EDWARD IV, 1464-70
LONDON AND PROVINCIAL SILVER; ANGELS



EDWARD IV, 1465-70
LONDON RYALS; QUARTER-RYALS



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



11



10

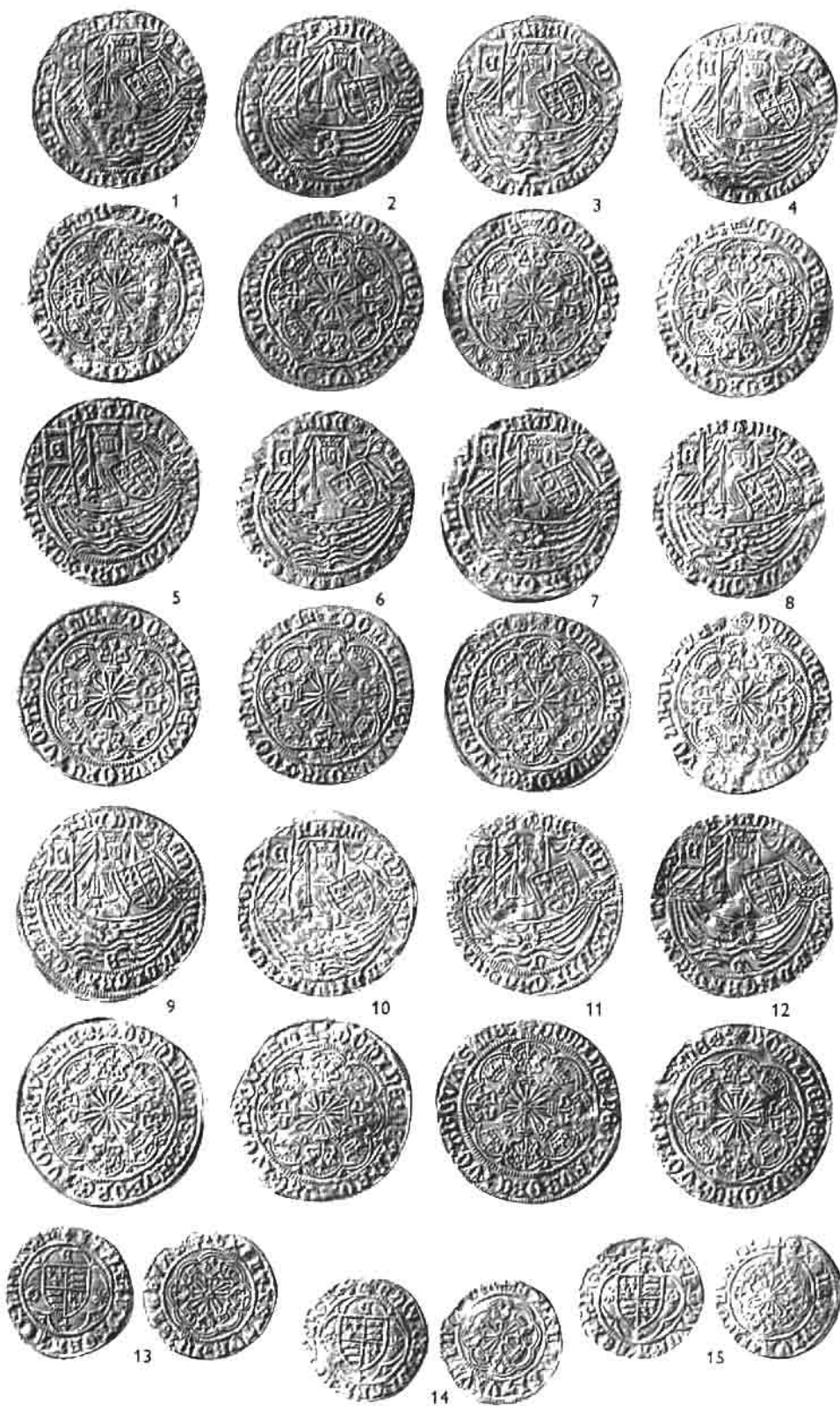


11



9

EDWARD IV, 1465-70
LONDON AND PROVINCIAL RYALS; QUARTER-RYALS



EDWARD IV, 1465-70
 HALF-RYALS; QUARTER-RYALS

CONTINENTAL IMITATIONS OF THE ROSE NOBLE OF EDWARD IV

By ANTHONY THOMPSON

VERY little is known in this country about the large class of rose nobles bearing the name of Edward IV, but of larger module and coarser execution than usual. Their style and fabric, as well as their average weight (about 116 grains), stamps them as of foreign manufacture, and they are called "Flemish" because there is a convenient historical explanation for their issue—Edward's seven months' exile in Flanders between October 1470 and April 1471. They are held to be Flemish because they resemble the pieces copied from Henry VI's noble, whose origin is also assumed to be Flemish. The identification of the rose nobles rests solely upon this resemblance, for there is, so far, no documentary evidence in support of an emergency coinage in Flanders—Deschamps de Pas prints no document in his exhaustive studies of the Flemish issues of Charles the Bold which might indicate that the Burgundian mints of Flanders were put at Edward's disposal.¹ Even the fundamental point about the origin of the "Henry" nobles is by no means certain, for there is a suspicion that some of them may have been coined at or near Cologne in the sixteenth century.²

In this country the "Flemish" rose nobles of Edward IV have always been regarded (and rightly) as a side-line of English numismatics, but this attitude neglects an important aspect of our numismatic history—the commercial value of the rose noble abroad, which led to its imitation.³ Montagu saw this clearly when he postulated a continental issue of rose nobles, based upon Anglo-Flemish trade relations, and continuing to circulate over a very long period.⁴ He argued that as some of the Henry nobles (of similar style) were found at Fischenich near Cologne (a hoard buried not earlier than 1624), both currencies could have circulated together during the sixteenth century.⁵ Other hoards support this contention, for out of the large number containing English coins there are about half a dozen in which Henry nobles and Edward rose nobles occur either together or separately. In that of Amersfoort, buried about 1560, both currencies were represented, together with Burgundian nobles of Philip the Fair,⁶ while at Joncret in Hainaut, in a hoard deposited about 1575-6,⁷ there were six rose nobles and no Henry nobles. Several other hoards show a mixture of Edward rose nobles (often

¹ *Revue Numismatique Française* (N.S.), vii (1862), pp. 351 ff.

² H. Montagu in *Num. Chron.* ³ xiii (1893), pp. 26 ff.

³ But see Snelling, *A View of the Gold Coin and Coinage of England*, p. 8 footnote (l), who suspected a continental issue of rose nobles for commercial purposes.

⁴ Montagu, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

⁵ Montagu, *op. cit.*

⁶ *Tijdschrift van het Nederlandsch Genootschap voor Munt- en Penningkunde*, iv (1896), p. 103.

⁷ *Revue de la Numismatique Belge*, 2^e série, t. i (1851), p. 92.

accompanied by English angels) and the Dutch provincial rose nobles, struck a few years later (1575-89). At Talmont, in western France,¹ a single Henry noble was associated with three rose nobles, while in an unnamed Dutch find dating from c. 1580-90,² only rose nobles were present, again mixed with Dutch issues. From the evidence of these hoards it can be assumed that the English rose noble enjoyed a widespread popularity in France and the Netherlands. It might also be argued that the popularity of the "Henry" noble had to some extent declined, but it is unsafe to generalize in this instance because the investigators of continental hoards have invariably failed to distinguish copies from their originals, and so it is impossible to estimate their comparative frequency. The distribution of the hoards does tell us one thing: the Henry and rose noble currencies are very likely to be Flemish or Dutch in origin, for the majority of the hoards in which they occur are from the Low Countries. The only comparable finds in England that I know of are those at Bisham Abbey (Berks.),³ where there was one Henry VI noble and six rose nobles, none of which can be proved to be foreign imitations, and at St. Albans, where there were twenty-two rose nobles, none of them copies, and no Henry nobles.⁴ Rose nobles and Henry nobles (whether true or imitation) are more common in Scottish hoards, as one might expect from the close relations between that country and France.⁵

Confirmation of the popularity of the Henry and Edward coinage during the sixteenth century is provided by the numerous placards issued in the Netherlands, France, and Scotland, especially towards the end of the century. In the latter country rose nobles figure in a list of 1598.⁶

Like the foreign *sterlings* of an earlier period, imitations of the English gold noble were a result of the continual illegal export of coin from England in the fourteenth century.

In spite of the efforts of Edward III and Richard II to attract bullion to the mint, quantities of gold nobles were exported and sold at a profit abroad to be recoinced. The Dukes of Burgundy, whose newly acquired Flemish dominions lay nearest to England, did not scruple to coin nobles on the English standard, but of less intrinsic worth (Pl. A, 1). These pests, arriving from the already flourishing trade-centre of Calais, caused great distress in England, until they

¹ *Revue Numismatique*, 3^e série, t. iii (1884), p. 271 f.

² *Bulletin Mensuel de Numismatique & d'Archéologie* (Brussels, 1883-4), p. 50.

³ *Num. Chron.* (N.S.), xviii (1878), p. 304.

⁴ *Num. Chron.*³ vi (1886), p. 173 (Pl. vii).

⁵ e.g. Dunblane, 1869; *Num. Chron.* (N.S.) x (1870), pp. 204 and 240 f.; *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* viii (1870), pp. 286 ff., and Glasgow, 1795; Lindsay, *Scotch Coins*, App. 17, p. 264.

⁶ Cochran-Patrick, *Records of the Coinage of Scotland*, p. 194. I have not been able to consult the following works enumerated by Snelling: *Edicts des Monnoyes Lesquelles ont cours par le Pays de Liège de l'An 1477 jusques à l'An 1623*, 4to, Liège; *Der Cooplieden Haud boucxhin*, 12mo, Ghent, 1546; *Hel Thresoor oft Schat Van alle de Specien*, 12mo, Antwerp, 1580; *Ordonnances*, 12mo, Paris, 1571, 1577, and Petter Diikman, *Observationer forma Swenskas och Gothers penningers Rachningz*, Obs xxv, 12mo, Stockholm, 1686.

were driven out of currency by Henry IV's reduction in the weight of his own gold coins in 1412. The harm had been done, however, and there is evidence that a coinage of imitations (other than the official one of the Burgundian Dukes) was growing up abroad. This must have caused some inconvenience in the Burgundian dominions as well as in England, for in October 1433 Philippe le Bon issued an *Ordonnance* referring to the imitation of *deniers d'or* "emprainte et fourme des deniers de nostredit Seigneur, ou assez semblables à iceulx" [*sic*] by neighbouring countries.¹ The term *denier d'or* is always used to describe the noble.

A few years before (in 1423), a money-changer of Malines, named Clais Warin, had been arrested for receiving "monnaies fausses contrefaites et défendus"² [*sic*]. It is to this period that we must assign the first of the "Henry" nobles, copied from the Annulet issue of Henry VI. Evidently the English noble had become so popular as a commercial currency³ that merchants (or feudal rulers) had found it expedient to issue private and presumably illegal coins.⁴

It is certain that these copies enjoyed a limited circulation in England, for one of them was present in the Horsted Keynes find buried about 1440⁵ (cf. Pl. A, 2).

When Edward IV remodelled his coinage in 1465 he found it expedient to strike a new denomination in the style of the old noble which had become so popular abroad. The result was the rose noble of higher value and weight, a coin even more popular than its predecessor, and eventually one of the main currencies of northern Europe. In these circumstances it is not surprising to find that it too was extensively imitated.

A definition of this type of imitation was given by Serrure in 1847, when he described the coins as *contrefaçons* (counterfeits). He further distinguished between those bearing the name and titles of their issuer, whether official or otherwise (e.g. the rose nobles of Holland, Zeeland, Overijssel, &c., as well as nobles of Ghent) and those indistinguishable from their prototype, but not seriously under weight.⁶ Both classes are represented amongst the rose nobles to be described.

Research by continental numismatists, amongst them Verkade, Serrure, and Schulman, has established that many *contrefaçons* of English gold coins (angels, rose nobles, and a few sovereigns) were issued either semi-officially, as in the case of some Friesland coins, or

¹ Deschamps de Pas in *Revue Numismatique*, 1861, p. 472.

² *Ibid.*, p. 461.

³ Evidence of their circulation in eastern Europe is provided by a hoard from the Warsaw district, which contained Henry V nobles. See Spink's *Numismatic Circular*, Nov.-Dec. 1914, p. 682, nos. 2461 and 2462.

⁴ It should be noted that imitations of English gold nobles were issued by Waleran III of Luxemburg, Count of St. Pol and Ligny (1371-1415), from his mint at Elincourt (Cambrai district). These are probably the earliest copies known. See Rigollot in *Revue Numismatique*, 1850, pp. 203 ff.; Poey d'Avant, *Monnaies Féodales*, iii, p. 418; and Engel and Serrure, *Traité*, iii, p. 1075 f.

⁵ *Num. Chron.*, 1929, p. 237.

⁶ *Revue Belge de Num.*, t. iii (1847), p. 261.

privately and without sanction by municipal authorities, e.g. at Gorinchem in Holland. The issue of these pieces coincides with the beginning of the Dutch wars of Independence and the formation in 1575 of the United Provinces. In view of the close trade connexions between England and the Netherlands, and the influx of English volunteers into the Dutch provinces, both of which contributed to the desire for a new coinage of English style, this is a subject which directly concerns English numismatics.

In the preceding pages I have outlined the evidence (such as it is) of documents and hoards relating to the probable date of issue of the "Flemish" style rose nobles. It tends to a sixteenth-century date, and a late one. It remains to be seen whether a close study of the coins themselves will confirm this idea.

It is easy enough to classify these pieces in a broad manner by their style—there are, fortunately, several well-defined groups—but it is much harder to produce a satisfactory die-sequence. The common denominator is, as will be seen presently, the lettering, but even here there are notable exceptions.

First, I will take a typical example of a "Flemish" rose noble, and describe it:

Obv. $\text{GD} / \text{::} \text{WTRD}' : \text{DI}' : \text{GRN} : \text{RER} : \text{TRGUL}' : \text{S} : \text{RRRN} : \text{DMS} \text{ IB}'$.

The king standing in a ship, holding a sword and shield. A rose on the ship's side and G on a banner at the stern.

Rev. M.M. Crown. $\text{IRD} : \text{PVT} : \text{'TRKNSIENS} : \text{POR} : \text{MDIVM} : \text{ILLORV}' : \text{IBNT}$ A rose upon a sun as on the English rose noble. [Pl. A, 4.] Weight: 116 grains.

If we analyse the details of this coin against those of the genuine piece, it is obvious where the differences lie. The composition of the copy is poor compared to that of the coin illustrated on Pl. A, 3, and the relief is very low. The correct lines are there, but appear empty and meaningless because they are all of the same texture. The rose on the ship's side is large and flat, with no attempt at moulding; a reference to that on genuine pieces shows it to be small and regular. I call this rose No. 1 and that of the copy No. 2 [cf. Nos. 3. and 4].

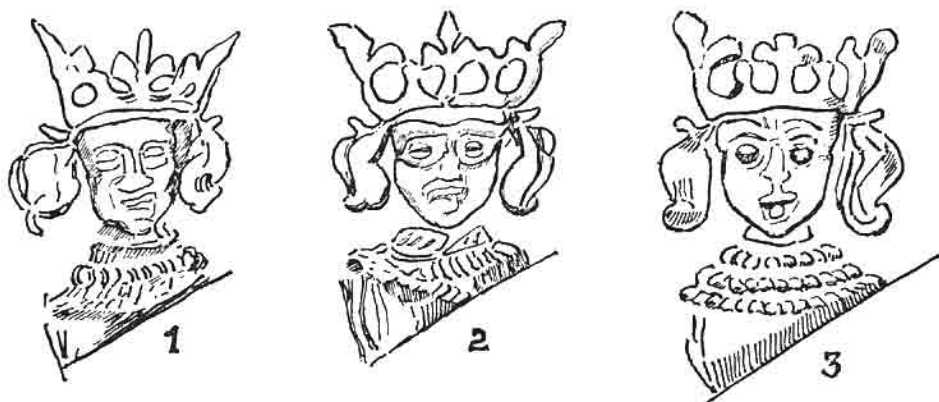
The portrait on the imitation is large and coarse, with an oval face and a spread crown. It compares very unfavourably with the head on the English dies. Another characteristic of the Flemish series is the way in which the letter G is inverted and used as a D and G at will.

The material upon which a classification may be based can be summarized as:

- (a) Style of portrait. Out of a number of varieties I have chosen the three most clearly defined. Number 1 (Fig. 1) is a small head with heavy features, usually double-struck. Number 2 (Fig. 2) is larger, with a noticeable gap between the face and crown-punches. Number 3 (Fig. 3) has already been mentioned. It has pellets for eyes. Between them, these three portraits are

enough for a quick identification of most of the Flemish rose nobles.

(b) The shape of the rose.



(c) The longer sword, and the form of the king's sword-arm, which is varied by its thickness and by the presence or lack of a point of armour at the elbow.

(d) The lettering.

GROUP I

(Pl. A, 5-8)

The group which looks earliest in style consists of three pieces.

Taking the three coins, we find that they have smaller flans and a more compact design than is usual amongst the Flemish dies. They have portrait no. 1 and rose no. 1 (small), while the privy mark, a sun, is at the beginning of the obverse inscription.¹ It is thicker than the English variety, and one of its eight rays is broken (*Cat. of Dies*, nos. 1 and 2). On all three coins the obverse die is identical (O 1 = Pl. A, 5).

There are three reverses (R 1-3). No. 1 has a crown mark with a pellet each side. No. 2 also has the crown, but the pellets are distributed between the letters of **IBTT**.

Number 3 is probably the same die altered. It bears a sun as privy mark, but this appears to be punched over another mark, perhaps the crown. No traces of this are visible, but there is a depression in the metal round the sun, suggesting that it was punched in after the former mark had been burnished out (Pl. A, 8).

Reverses 1 and 3 both have a pellet above the **n** of **INRA**.

The lettering is uniform for the three coins. **as** are normal, but an

¹ The sun mark occurs both at the beginning (i.e. below the sail) and at the end of the obverse legend on genuine half- and quarter-ryals; the combination of sun and crown is (*pace Brooke, Engl. Coins*, p. 155) unknown for the ryal, though it exists on halves and quarters: Durlacher's ryal, which he exhibited at a meeting of the Royal Numismatic Society on 21 March 1895, was undoubtedly an imitation, and may be identical with the British Museum specimen (see *Proceedings, Num. Soc.*, for March 1895), Durlacher Sale (Sotheby), 1899, lot 71, and my catalogue of die varieties, no. 1).

inverted **α** (Fig. 3) is used for **ḍ**. The **π** has slightly curved limbs (Fig. 1) and the **Ċ** is generally of the form shown in Fig. 2. **Ṛ** has a long tail (Fig. 4), and **Ṛ** is small with square feet (Fig. 5). **W**s are correctly formed of two V-punches (Fig. 6).

Die-sequence of Group I

<p>O 1 = Sun with trefoils between DNS IB. One out of eight rays in the sun is broken off short.</p>	<p>combined with</p>	<p>R 1 = Crown with a pellet each side and one above h in IhQ R 2 = Crown. Pellets in IBTT only; one above h.</p>
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There is an obvious attempt at a regular system of privy marking here. The trefoils on the obverse are constant and may only be a reproduction of the English dies, but the pellet system must have a significance of its own. It suggests an official or semi-official issue, and it is noticeable that something very like it occurs on some Elizabethan ryals,¹ as well as on other coins of our series.

As an introduction to the next two groups it will be convenient to give some details of the way in which the rose noble was used in the sixteenth century.

The involved state of the Netherlands currency under its Burgundian rulers, and subsequently under Charles V, encouraged the importation of foreign currencies, and consequently their imitation.

In 1497 and 1499 it was recorded in placards issued in Flanders that the country was filled with gold coin "faibles au poids ou contrefaites, et par conséquent, décriées".² In spite of *ordonnances*,³ this state of disorder continued, and Charles V was forced to prohibit a number of issues between 1520 and 1525.

Foreign coins and imitations of them were imported and raised above their real value, and people profited from the high prices at which these were accepted by carrying on illicit commerce and bringing in prohibited coins.

The high prices abroad reacted unfavourably in England, as is shown by the following proclamation issued by Henry VIII on 22 August 1526:⁴ "Owing to the enhancement of value abroad money was carried out of this realm by secret means, nobles, half nobles and ryalls, and as a remedy it is proclaimed that all gold current within this realm shall be of the same value as it is in other outward parts. . . ." The proclamation goes on to fix the values of the French "Crown of the Sun" and Henry's new gold crown and to fix the rate of 44 shillings the ounce as the sum to be paid for gold of the fineness of the sovereign, ryal, noble, and half-noble brought to the mint. This was Cardinal Wolsey's first attempt to deal with the difficult problem, and inaugurated his debasement policy. By March 1542 values of nobles, half-nobles, and ryals had again been raised abroad, and an English

¹ Cf. the escallop-marked coins described in *Num. Chron.*⁶ (1; nos. III-IV), 1941, p. 147 f.

² *Revue Belge de Num.*, 1876, p. 62.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 82 f. See *Ordonnances*, 15 August 1521 and 25 September 1525.

⁴ *Brit. Num. Journ.*¹ x (1913), p. 139.

proclamation prohibited their export and raised the value of the ryal from 11s. 6d. to 12s.¹

The same thing happened in Scotland, where rose nobles were extensively used. In 1526 James V followed Henry VIII in raising the values of his coins.² His list includes:

- | | |
|---|------------|
| 1. The [French] Crown of the Sun | xviiij s. |
| 2. The Angel noble | xxviiij s. |
| 3. The Double Ducat [Spanish] or
"Harry" noble [Flemish] | xxxvj s. |
| 4. The rose noble | xlij s. |
| 5. The Portugal Ducat | xli s. |

By 1544 values had again been raised, the Harry noble to 42s. and the rose noble to 48s.³

In 1546 certain English gold coins were prohibited in Scotland because they were "na fyne gold, bat copper for the maist part, and of na fynance".⁴ Amongst those mentioned was a "Riale". As Henry VIII is not known to have issued rose nobles for general currency, this passage may perhaps be taken as evidence for the circulation of English forgeries or of foreign *contrefaçons*.⁵

The latter would be a natural result of the high values put upon the rose noble, as people would be encouraged to issue light pieces and import them into England.

In this way it is possible to suggest a period for the beginning of the *contrefaçon* coinage more in keeping with its style than an earlier date. To be more precise, I shall (with reservations) put it at between 1526 and 1546.

Contrefaçons of many sorts were issued, amongst which the rose noble inevitably figured. It was double the weight of most of its contemporaries, and its fine quality, both intrinsically and artistically, ensured its acceptance in many places. One country after another adopted it as a standard of currency, and Snelling⁶ lists a number of states which put it into circulation. Cologne, Trier, and Jülich were amongst these, and they were followed by Denmark (where the Tolls of the Sound were usually estimated in rose nobles),⁷ Sweden, and Norway, as well as the Hanseatic communities who found it essential for their trade with England and the Netherlands. It circulated as a trade coin in Russia under the name of *Korabel'nik* or "ship-coin" during the reign of Ivan the Terrible (1547-84).⁸

In these countries the silver mark had always been used as the

¹ *Brit. Num. Journ.* x (1913), p. 152.

² Cochran-Patrick, *Records of the Coinage of Scotland* (1), p. 95.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

⁵ Brooke expressly condemned the Henry VIII ryal in the British Museum. Its lettering and the open crown suggest a comparatively modern forgery (see Grueber, Pl. xiv, 394; Kenyon, p. 84; its weight is 117 grains).

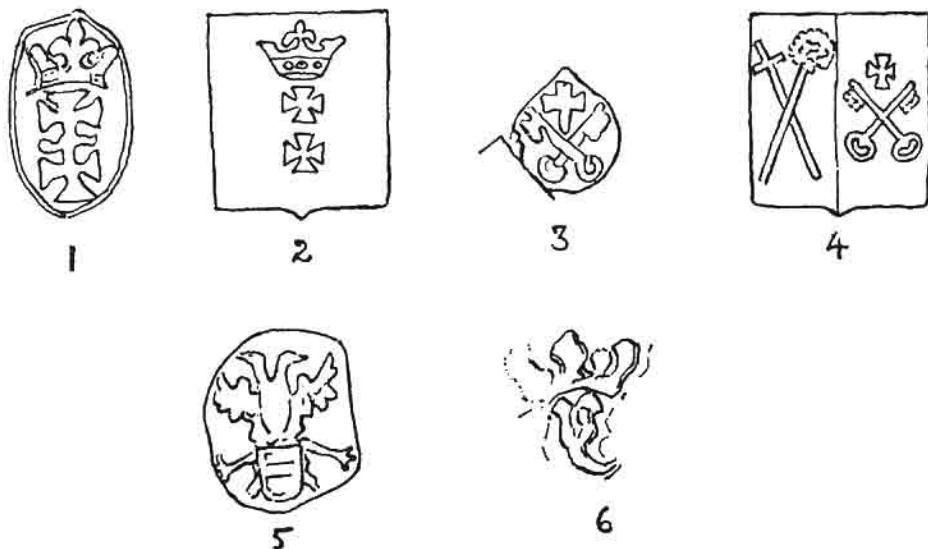
⁶ Snelling, *A View of the Gold Coin and Coinage of England*, p. 8, footnote (1).

⁷ Lorentzen, *Museum Regium* (Copenhagen, 1710), p. 2, Sect. 5, c. 12; Snelling, *op. cit.* The term "Rose Noble", or "Rozenoble" is of foreign origin. English records generally call it the ryal.

⁸ Schrötte, *Wörterbuch der Münzkunde*, p. 460.

"Coin of Account", but it appears that the rose noble was now preferred as a currency standard.¹

In the course of trade rose nobles and Henry nobles were bound to be countermarked, and there are several such stamps which require explanation. The commonest are for the great Baltic trade-centres of Dantzic (a crowned double cross; **Pl. B, 1** and Figs. 1 and 2)² and Riga (a cross over keys; **Pl. B, 2** and Figs. 3 and 4). These are probably both sixteenth century, and appear on genuine and imitation pieces. There are military reasons for some of the other marks. The double-headed eagle of Groningen (**Pl. B, 4** and Fig. 5) dates from the siege of that town by the Dutch troops under Prince Maurice of Nassau in 1591,³ while the much rarer mark of Ypres (a crowned Gothic \mathfrak{y} ;



Pl. B, 3 and Fig. 6) was used during the blockade by the Spaniards in 1583.⁴ That illustrated is on the obverse of a worn Calais noble of Henry VI (Annulet issue).

Coins bearing the stamp of Riga include a genuine rose noble (**Pl. B, 2**) and one of the sun-marked coins of group I (Cat. no. 2). Some confusion has arisen about the origin of this mark; both Schulman⁵ and Ives⁶ accept it as that of Riga, but the catalogue of the Cassal Collection (sold at Sotheby's in 1924) described it as "Keys in saltire between a slipped trefoil" and called it the mark of Arch-

¹ Snelling, *View of Nobles Struck Abroad*, p. 53, where it is stated that the Baltic countries adopted the new standard under the patronage of the Teutonic knights.

² Fig. 2 is traced from Rentzman's illustration of the arms of Dantzic in *Numismatisches Wappen Lexicon*, 1877, Pl. xvi, 222.

³ Cf. a Zeeland noble with this mark, illustrated in Schulman, *Sale Cat.*, 1919, Pl. II, 19.

⁴ Vandenpeereboom, *Numismatique Yproise* (Brussels, 1877), p. 24 f.

⁵ Schulman, *Sale Cat.*, 1911, Pl. II, Fig. 78.

⁶ Ives, *Foreign Imitations of the English Noble*, Amer. Num. Soc., *Num. Notes and Mon.*, no. 93 (1941).

bishop Nevill (?), who acted as guardian to Henry VI during the Restoration of 1470-1.¹ It is true that the cross does look rather like a slipped trefoil, but if we look closely at it there is no doubt that it is meant to be a cross pattée. Its foot is too long and square to be heraldically correct, and its other extremities are weakly struck; but these are details which the artist could hardly be expected to engrave accurately on so small a scale.

Rentzman² gives the arms of Riga as a cross pattée over crossed keys (Fig. 4). Here the limbs are correctly expanded.

Archbishop George Nevill is an unlikely person to have used a countermark, although it would have been just possible for him to do so as a temporary measure before new dies were ready for Henry's coinage.³ As far as I can ascertain, he never used keys or a cross of any sort; his arms as Archbishop of York were the Salisbury (Nevill) saltire combined with a label.⁴

Finally, the style of the sun-marked coins (already shown to be a foreign issue) suggests a date later than Edward IV's reign, and is much more in accord with the countermark being sixteenth century, and put on the trade currency of Riga.

GROUP II

(Pl. B, 4-7)

The next group of rose nobles is difficult to arrange in its proper sequence, though its subdivisions are easily identifiable by style and lettering. A close analysis of details shows: (a) that the group can be divided into three classes; (b) that the lettering of each class merges into the next; (c) that we shall find it less confusing not to rely too much upon other details, because so many different punches are used on dies which look identical.

Class I (Pl. B, 4-6) consists of three coins, all from the same obverse and reverse dies (O 1 and R 1). Its main characteristic is its portrait, the head no. 2 already described. The rose on the ship is a modification of no. 1 with a tendency to flatness. The coin no. 3 is in poor condition and coarser than the others. It weighs 115 grains as against 116, so it may be a derivative of class 1. The privy mark on all three coins is a crown.

Class II (Pl. B, 7 and Pl. C, 1 and 2). The style of these coins is similar, but the head is thinner. We might call it 2 a. The rose is flatter than before. Nos. 2, 3, and 4 are remarkable in that they indicate their place of origin, and so give us a clue to the whole group. Nos. 2 and 3 have a shield in the middle of the forecastle instead of a quatrefoil. This shield bears two fesses counter-embattled (Fig. 7). No. 4 goes farther, for not only does the "king" carry the same shield,

¹ Cassal Sale Cat. (Sotheby, 3 Dec. 1924), lot 209.

² Ibid., Pl. 6, 232.

³ For an account of George Nevill's part in Henry VI's restoration, see Walters in *Num. Chron.* 4 x (1910), pp. 118 ff.

⁴ So given in Bedford's *Blazon of Episcopacy*, Pl. LXVIII, no. 28.

but the inscription betrays that the coin is not English. Mixed with the Edwardian titles we get the abbreviations **AV** (*Ad valorem*) and **DN AR** (*Domini Arkellensis*), indicating that this rose noble was struck on the standard (*Ad valorem*) of Edward for the Lord of Arkel.

In class II there are three obverses (O 2 to 4), and two reverses (R 2 and 3), both with the crown mark.

On all coins of classes I and II the king's sword-arm is thin and weak, with pointed armour at the elbow and wrist. This form appears to be characteristic of the earlier dies of the Flemish rose nobles.



7

Class III (Pl. C, nos. 3–6). This is the largest of the group, its main characteristic being the oval head with pellets for eyes, already described as no. 3. On the coins of class III *a* (Pl. C, 3) the rose has developed fully into no. 2, while the king's sword-arm (one of the main guides to the chronology of the group) is thick without a point to the armour at the elbow. Class III *a* has one obverse (O 5) and two reverses (R 4 and 5), accompanied by the foregoing details. Classes III *b* and *c* (Pl. C, nos. 4–6) are varied by the arm having a point of armour at the elbow; individual punches for the head, body, shield, sword, and ship are identical in both classes, though sometimes differently placed on the flan. The rose no. 2 is always used, a conspicuous detail being the arrangement of the pellets in rows of two, four, four, two, generally inserted at an angle.

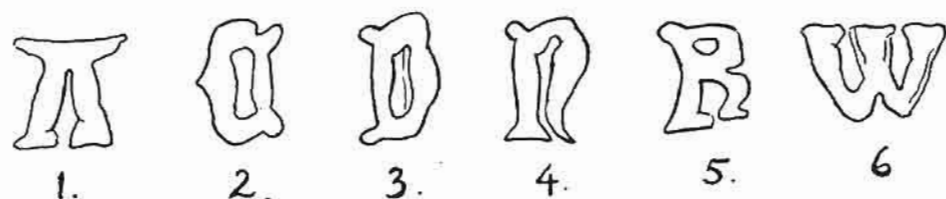
Broadly speaking, there appear to be only two obverses in classes III *b* and *c*, distinguished by the omitting of the trefoil after **DN** (no. 4 = O 6) and its insertion (no. 5 = O 7). Reverses are probably identical, though there may be slight differences in the placing of details (no. 6 = R 6). Class III *d* has one obverse (O 8 with a new portrait) and one reverse (O 7) (see cat. of dies, no. 12).

Finally, the lettering. From this it is possible to suggest a plan for the sequence of the group. On class I, punches on both sides are short and thick with curved limbs, e.g. the **A** (Fig. 1 = A 1). The **C**, on the other hand, is large (Fig. 3 = C 1). **R** has a thick tail (Fig. 5 = R 1) and the **W** is weak in its left-hand limb (Fig. 8 = W 1). Most of these letters continue on class II, though the **R** becomes rounder (Fig. 6 = R 2), and the **W** thick (Fig. 9 = W 2). **C** is sometimes reversed (Fig. 3). On the earliest coins of class III *a* (= O 5) these letters are still present, but the **A** is smaller and thinner. In later coins, and in III *b*, we get a new punch, much larger, and with widely curved limbs

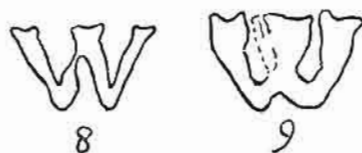
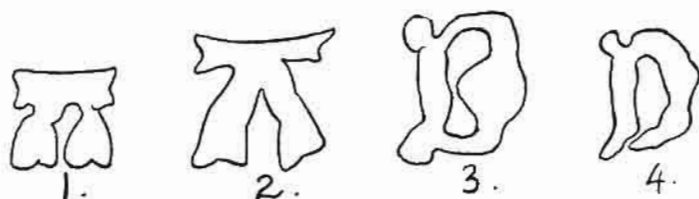
(Fig. 2 = A 2). **Ń** no. 2 and **R** (Fig. 7) are very conspicuous on classes III *b* and *c*, while the **ɑ** (Fig. 1) of the earlier classes is generally present, accompanied by a smaller punch with its lower extremity first cracked, then broken (Fig. 4 = C 2).

Other letters, including a thick **τ**, can be used to check the die-sequence, but they are less important.

GROUP I



GROUP II



In class III *d* (O 8 and R 7) we get an entirely new lettering mixed with old punches (e.g. **ɑ**, **Ń**, and **S**). **τ**s are now very small and thin and of a form resembling A 2 (= Fig. 2). In one case (R 7) there is a small spur clearly visible on the right-hand limb of a very thin, straight **τ**, making it look like **7E**; this strongly recalls a letter-punch on the Gorinchem rose noble of Marie de Brimeu, engraved for Cuypers in 1851 (see *Num. Chron.*⁶ (III-IV), 1941, Pl. VIII, 8), and also connects R 7 with certain Elizabethan ryals struck at Gorinchem about 1585-6.

We can now summarize the chronology:

Class I. O 1, with head 2, rose 1 variety (a), and arm 1 (thin). = R 1. Crown.

Class II. O 2 to 4, with head 2 a, rose 1 variety (a), and arm 2 = R 2 and 3. Crown. (thick, no point at elbow).

Class III (a). O 5, with head 3, rose 2, and arm 2 (thick, with- = R 4 and 5. Crown. out point).

Class III (b). O 6, with head 3, rose 2, and arm 3 (thick, with = R 6. Crown. point). No trefoil after **DRS**.

Class III (c). O 7, only differing in having the trefoil after **DRS** = R 6.

Class III (d). O 8. A new portrait. = R 7. Crown. New lettering mixed with old punches.

The series of rose nobles includes some other dies which cannot be fitted into the grouping; one of them bears the privy mark cross-fitchy (**Pl. A, 9**) and the other a boar's head. This cannot have been struck earlier than *c.* 1483-5, and its style makes it likely to be much later (**Pl. A, 10**). Full details of all these individual styles will be found in the catalogue of dies (nos. 16-20).

There are a few more points in connexion with group 2.

(a) A pellet on each side of the king's shoulder on a coin of class I (**Pl. B, 6**). This can be explained as being a merchant's mark, put on to distinguish the coin either as being of less intrinsic value than the original or as being in circulation as bullion only. There are plenty of analogies in the Greek coinage—for instance, the coins of Lydia and Aegina and Persian sigloi which were so stamped in Egypt under the early Ptolemys.¹

(b) If we look closely at the rose nobles we find that on some, especially those of group II, there are indications of ridges thrown up round letters and parts of the design which are not altogether due to wear or buckling, or double-striking. The surface, particularly on the reverses, is full of minute striations (*cf.* **Pl. A, 4**).

These curious features may possibly be the result of a system of "hubbing". The hub or master die in relief was used to impress an *incuse* design upon a heated blank, which, when hardened, was used to strike coins from, the design coming out *positive* or in relief as on the original hub.² I do not know exactly what marks would be caused in this process of reproduction, but it has been noted in connexion with Greek coins that, when the hub had become worn, the engraver was in the habit of deepening letters or parts of the design with a graving-tool, by cutting round them a shallow depression, which, of course, comes out as a "bank" in relief on the coin.³

This system of hubbing is particularly suitable for a hasty coinage—large numbers of pieces can be produced quickly, and time is saved by not having to engrave new dies at short intervals. Inscriptions and supplementary pieces of the design can be inserted at will; hence the need for a stock of individual punches—a phenomenon which we get in this series.

¹ J. G. Milne, *Greek and Roman Coins*, p. 77 f., and Pl. xvi, nos. 2, 3, and 6.

² Hill, "Ancient Methods of Coining", in *Num. Chron.*⁵ ii (1922), p. 19 f.

³ *Ibid.*, Pl. i, nos. 10 and 11.

Group III is completely different. It is adapted from class I of group II, having bad copies of head 2 and rose 1. The inscription resembles only superficially that of Edward IV. It reads in abbreviated form **MO ORD FRISIÆ AD LEGEM EDWARD RÆ AN**, i.e. the coin was struck for the province of Friesland on the "Edward" or English standard of gold. To make the attribution more certain, we have the initial **F** (= Frisia) on the flag of one (Pl. C, 7). Schulman¹ has already established that these coins were a semi-official issue, struck for the Ommelanden (that part of Friesland afterwards united with Groningen), and produced at Culemborg in Utrecht province between 1589 and 1591.

The three pieces illustrated are all in the Dutch Royal Coin Cabinet at The Hague, and I have to thank Mr. Enno Van Gelder for his kindness in sending me casts of them as well as notes on their weights.

We have now to find a date for the three groups.

Group I would appear to be earliest in style, and superficially it fulfils the conditions required of an emergency coinage for Edward IV. Weights (117 grains) and privy marks (crown and sun) are correct for the period, but I do not believe that the coins are fifteenth century. The **R** punch connects them with two other pieces whose style is markedly "late" in some respects (nos. 18 and 19 in the catalogue of dies). If these sun and crown-marked coins are to be classed as part of the same series as group II, then it is obvious that so large a coinage could not have been issued in a short period of seven months.

Group II can be dated very closely. The development of the lettering, with its recurring punches, indicates the employment of a single mint, and it is fairly certain that this mint was Gorinchem in Holland. The coins of class II bearing the arms and title of Arkel are the principal evidence for this attribution, for it is known that the municipal authorities of Gorinchem owned the estate of Arkel in the late sixteenth century. The Seigneurs of Arkel, once an important family in the Netherlands, possessed a right of coinage in medieval times. This had lapsed in the fifteenth century with the death of John XIII, the last direct representative. His daughter, Marie (who died in 1415), married into the family of Egmont, later Dukes of Gueldres, and by the sixteenth century the family of Arkel was only represented by a branch, the Seigneurs of Heukelom. There is no evidence that they ever possessed the original estate, lying close to Gorinchem, or that they claimed a right of coinage under that title. The best explanation of the coins is that the municipal authorities of Gorinchem revived this right of coinage for their own profit between the years 1583 and 1589.² Their mint, under the direction of Henry van Velthuysen and his female successor, Anne van Wissell, acquired an evil reputation for issuing light-weight pieces, mostly *contrefaçons*,

¹ "De Munten der Ommelanden, 1579-1591", in *Jaarboek Van Munt- en Penningkunde*, ii (1915), pp. 129 ff.

² Schulman in *Congrès Internationale de Numismatique* (Brussels, 1891), p. 580, and Serrure in *Rev. Belge de Num.*, t. iii (1847), pp. 255 ff.

amongst which the rose noble was prominent. The history of these dubious activities has been described elsewhere,¹ and it is sufficient to say that after a long struggle against frequent proclamations by the Dutch Government, the mint was forcibly closed in 1589.

As the shield of Arkel occurs on a silver *piedfort* for a sovereign known to have been designed at Gorinchem during these years,² it is reasonable to assume that the rose nobles date from the same period. We might carry the argument a stage farther and say that the coins were produced between 1585 and 1587, when the English army under the Earl of Leicester was establishing itself in Holland. It is well known that Leicester imported a large coinage of rose nobles (Elizabethan) for the use of his troops, and this may have caused a revival in the issues of rose noble *contrefaçons* of the older type, for both military and economic purposes.

We may now summarize the dating as

Group I, c. 1585 or after? Mint?

Group II. 1585–87. Gorinchem.

Group III. 1589–91. Culemborg.

As we are not going to regard group I as fifteenth century, there is an awkward gap to fill between 1470 and 1585. We know that rose nobles did circulate in considerable numbers, but we have yet to find a style early enough to suggest a date contemporary with Edward IV. The number of genuine pieces in circulation during the sixteenth century cannot have been very large, and it is just possible that the rose noble was regarded more as a coin of account—a substitute for the mark—than as a current coin, and that the English angel was more used until the Dutch Wars of Independence began (c. 1569–75). It may be objected that the great number of varieties of rose nobles known indicates a more continuous series than this theory provides for. If so, a diligent search of continental museums and private collections may produce coins more in keeping with an earlier date.³

Without such evidence, the earliest date for the beginning of the *contrefaçons* of rose nobles is hard to fix, but it is not unlikely to be a few years before 1526, a period in which the rising price of gold abroad and the consequent export of English coins made the issue of *contrefaçons* a profitable business (see p. 188).

In 1585, when Elizabeth decided to intervene officially on the side of the United Provinces, and sent Leicester over with an army, there was doubtless a revival in the rose noble currency, leading to more *contrefaçons*.

I do not see why all these coins (with the exception of group III at Culemborg) should not have been issued concurrently from one mint on the principle of the Roman *officinae* or mint workshops. This

¹ Cuypers, op. cit. i (1851), pp. 187 ff. and *Num. Chron.*⁶ (iii–iv), 1941, pp. 139 ff.

² Serrure, *Rev. Belge de Num.*, t. iii (1847), pp. 255 ff.

³ During the discussion after I read my paper to the Society both Mr. Blunt and Mr. Allen expressed the opinion that my date for the introduction of the *contrefaçons* was too late. I agree with them and have modified my views accordingly.

would account for a number of identical punches being used on coins of completely different style, and also for the system of privy marking on groups I and II, which would in that case indicate either the workshop or the coins of an individual workman.

Looking at the map (see p. 198) it is obvious why the magistrates of Gorinchem decided to issue rose nobles. The town is an ideal centre of distribution, for it lies close to the borders of three Dutch provinces (Holland, Utrecht, and Gelderland) and on the river Waal, directly on the trade route from the sea to the German border near Cleves, and thence up the Rhine to Cologne (the distributing centre for a large part of the German Empire). Moreover, the Maas, just opposite to Gorinchem, flows into the southern provinces of the Netherlands, providing a good outlet for the illegal trade with the cities of Flanders, which Leicester tried in vain to stop.¹ Leicester's placard of 4 August 1586 prohibited the export to the Spanish Netherlands of all grain and provisions on pain of death. From a purely military point of view this was good policy, but it was bitterly resented by Holland and Zeeland, the two provinces which contributed most towards the financial conduct of the war; their trade with Flanders was essential for this purpose. Lastly, Gorinchem was a frontier town and a bulwark of the Dutch line of defence along the Waal; consequently it had to be adequately garrisoned, and the soldiers had to be paid, preferably in rose nobles, the normal gold currency of the provinces.

Culemborg, lying just north of Gorinchem, was also in a good position to catch the trade going up the Rhine into Germany. It is worth noting that the protection of these trade routes was a fundamental part of Leicester's strategy in resisting the Prince of Parma's incursions into the northern provinces. The capture in 1586 by Parma of the important fortresses of Grave and Venlo exposed the Rhine traffic to attack, and produced a financial crisis. Merchants would not make payments or engage in a trade liable to be interrupted at any moment by a Spanish invasion. Burghley persuaded them to do so with some difficulty.²

In view of the geographical advantages possessed by these two unauthorized mints, it is hardly surprising to find the Dutch authorities complaining about the number of *contrefaçons* in circulation.³

At this point let me repeat what I said earlier (on p. 189) about the dual standard of currency in the Netherlands. These two gold standards were (a) the "Edward" or English rose noble standard (= *Ad valorem Edwardi*, average weight 116 grains and comprising coins of "Angel" gold, i.e. 23 carat $3\frac{1}{2}$ grains fine), (b) the "Henry" or Flanders standard (= *Val. Flan.*, 108 grains and under, comprising all coins of noble type, or others, of $23\frac{1}{2}$ carats fine).

¹ *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. iii, p. 620 f.

² See letters from Burghley to Leicester dated 10 June and 21 July 1586, printed in *Leicester Correspondence* (Camden Soc., London, 1844), nos. cxiv; Cotton MS. Galba c. IX, fol. 267 (p. 307 f.) and cxxxiv, Cotton MS., Galba c. IX, fol. 313 (p. 354 f.).

³ e.g. the Zeeland resolution of 13 August 1585 and Leicester's placard of 4 August 1586; see *Num. Chron.*⁶ (iii-iv), 1941, p. 140 f.

The northern provinces (i.e. Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Gelderland, and Friesland) usually preferred the Edward standard, while the Catholic provinces (Flanders, Brabant, Limburg, and Hainaut) mostly used the lighter currency. It can be seen from the map that these two currencies tend to fall into groups, the southern one comprising the Flemish trading communities with their centre at Antwerp and the northern group owing allegiance to Amsterdam. The map does not, how-



ever, present an entirely fair picture, because wherever the Spaniards were in a majority they were likely to use the Flanders standard.

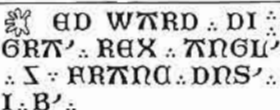
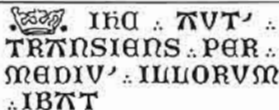
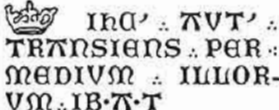
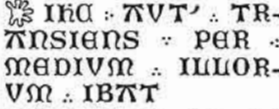
The catalogue of dies which follows is not complete; there are doubtless other pieces of varying styles which I have missed or which may be found in continental cabinets, and this being so, the catalogue is only intended as the basis of a classification, to be revised later on if necessary.

The punches for privy marks have been imitated as closely as possible, but in the case of the crown used on group II I have not thought it worth while to make separate drawings of every punch used, and have contented myself by reproducing the one most repre-

sentative of the general style. Fortunately there is little variation. These crown-punches for groups 1-3 are numbered 1, 2, 3, and 4. The dies are numbered by obverse and reverse, so that they can be distinguished at a glance, and all the coins illustrated are starred.

CATALOGUE OF DIES


GROUP I. [Early Style]

No.	Die	Obverse	Reverse	Die
1	O 1 (Pl. A, 5)	 <p>Head 1; rose 1 (copy). Privy mark: sun of eight rays, one broken (as shown). Legend reads clockwise, starting below the sail on the right of the coin. Stops: trefoils of pellets.</p> <p>*a = British Museum. <i>Weight</i>: 117.2 grs. (? = Durlacher Sale (Sotheby, 2 March 1899, lot 71). <i>Weight</i>: not given.)</p>	 <p>Privy mark: crown with a pellet each side (punch no. 1; as shown). Pellet above h Trefoil stops.</p>	R 1 (Pl. A, 6)
2	O 1	<p>Same die, but counter-marked with a cross over keys, for Riga (see Fig. 3).</p>	 <p>Privy mark: crown without pellets (punch no. 1); pellets between letters of IBTT. None above h [?].</p>	R 2 (Pl. A, 7)
3	O 1	<p>Same die, but without the countermark.</p>	 <p>Privy mark: sun (as shown) punched over a crown (?). Pellet above h; trefoil stops.</p>	R 3 (Pl. A, 8)
		<p>*a = Schulman Cat. 1932, Pl. VII, 904 = Ives, Pl. II, 17 (Ives Coll., New York). <i>Weight</i>: not given.</p>		
		<p>*a = Ives Collection, New York (formerly in the possession of Mr. A. H. F. Baldwin). <i>Weight</i>: 117.9 grs.</p>		
		<p>The following examples of this group are recorded but have not been illustrated; they may perhaps be identical with the coins described above: b = Sotheby, Ready Sale, 1920, lot 55. c = Spink, <i>Num. Circ.</i>, Jan.-Feb. 1924, lot 27051, p. 47.</p>		



GROUP II. c. 1585-7

GORINCHEM MINT


CLASS I

No.	Die	Obverse	Reverse	Die
4	O 1 (Pl. B, 4)	<p>ED . . W[TRD]DI' . GRN . REX . ANGL . S . FRAT[?] . DNS' . IB' .</p> <p>Head 2; rose 1 (var. a); arm 1. Trefoil stops. Countermarked on the ship's hull with a shield containing the arms of Groningen (a double- headed eagle; see Fig. 5 on p. 190). A long, nar- row punch-mark on the right-hand side of the field is probably a slip by the engraver.</p> <p>Both sides of this coin are slightly worn. *a = British Museum. Weight: 119.2 grs. *b = " " " 117.4 " *c = " " " 116.8 " (A pellet each side of the king's shoulders.) d = Cambridge. A worn piece. Weight: 107.7 grs. e = Schulman Sale Cat., Feb. 1939, Pl. vi, 301. (Reads 'a after FRAT, and IHΘ ILLOR- RVN . on rev). Weight: not given. (None of these coins (b-e) are countermarked.)</p>	 <p>IHD . AVT' . TRANSIENS . PER . MEDIVM' . ILLORV' . IBAT' .</p> <p>Privy mark: crown (punch no. 2, as shown). Trefoil stops.</p>	R 1 (Pl. B, 4)
	(Pl. B, 5) (Pl. B, 6)			(Pl. B, 5) (Pl. B, 6)


CLASS II

5	O 2 (Pl. B, 7)	<p>ED . . WARD' . DI' . GRN . REX . ANGL . S . FRAT' . . DNS' . IB' .</p> <p>Head 2 a; rose 1 (var. b); arm 1. Trefoil stops.</p> <p>* = Mr. A. H. F. Baldwin (1945). Weight: 117.3 grs.</p>	 <p>IHD . AVT' . TRANSIENS . PER . . MEDIVM' . ILLORV' . IBAT' .</p> <p>Privy mark: crown (punch no. 2).</p>	R 2 (Pl. B, 7)
6	O 3 (Pl. C, 1)	<p>ED . . WARD' . DI' . GRN . REX . ANGL . S . FRAT' . . DNS' . IB' .</p> <p>Head 2 a; rose 1 (var. b); arm 1. Trefoil stops. This die only varies from O 2 in having a shield of the arms of Arkel (see Fig. 7, p. 192) instead of a quatrefoil as the cen- tral decoration on the</p>	 <p>IHD . AVT' . TRANSIENS . PER . . MEDIVM' . ILLORV' . IBAT' .</p> <p>The reverse design is coarser in execution than R 2 (crown-punch no. 2).</p>	R 3 (Pl. C, 1)


CLASS II—continued

No.	Die	Obverse	Reverse	Die
7	O 4 (Pl. C, 2)	<p>forecastle. There are also slight differences in the placing on the flan.</p> <p>*a = British Museum. <i>Weight</i>: 116.9 grs. b = Ashmolean Museum. " 116 " c = Cambridge. " 115.7 "</p> <p>ÐÐ ∴ WƿRD ∴ D ∴ G ∴ RΘG ∴ ƿNG ∴ M ∴ DNI ∴ ƿR ∴ ƿ ∴ V ∴ Θ ∴ ∴ DNS ∴ I ∴ D ∴</p> <p>A slightly wider and rounder head. The king's shield carries the arms of France and Arkel (quarterly 1st and 3rd, three lys; 2nd and 3rd, two fesses counter-embattled). All Es and Us are reversed, and stops are trefoils and pellets mixed. Arm 1; rose 1 (var. b).</p> <p>*a = The Hague. <i>Weight</i>: 115.7 grs. See Schulman in <i>Congrès Internationale de Numismatique</i>, Brussels, 1891, pp. 580-1 (illustrated).</p>	 , same die (Crown-punch no. 2.)	R 3 (Pl. C, 2)

CLASS III a

8	O 5 (Pl. C, 3)	<p>ED ∴ ∴ WƿRD ∴ DI ∴ ∴ GRƿ ∴ REX ∴ ƿNGU ∴ ∴ Σ ∴ RRƿN ∴ DNS ∴ ∴ IB ∴</p> <p>Head 3; rose 2; arm 2. Trefoil stops. Small As (= ƿ 1).</p> <p>*a = British Museum (= Montagu, <i>Num. Chron.</i> 1893, Pl. III, 1; Montagu Collection). <i>Weight</i>: 117.4 grains.</p>	 IHD ∴ ƿVT ∴ ∴ TRƿNSIENS ∴ PAR ∴ ∴ MEDIUM ∴ ILLORV ∴ ∴ IBƿT ∴ <p>(Crown punch no. 2 as shown.) Neat work; small As (= ƿ 1).</p>	R 4 (Pl. C, 3)
9	O 5	<p>Same die.</p> <p>a = Mr. A. H. F. Baldwin (1945). <i>Weight</i>: 117.3 grs. b = Ratto (Paris), <i>Sale Cat.</i>, 1939, p. 8, 212 (Pl. VII, 212). <i>Weight</i>: not given.</p>	<p>Same die, but large As (= A 2).</p>	R 4 (var.)

CLASS III b

10	O 6 (Pl. C, 4)	<p>ED ∴ ∴ WƿRD ∴ DI ∴ ∴ GRƿ ∴ REX ∴ ƿNGU ∴ ∴ Σ ∴ RRƿN ∴ DNS IB ∴ ∴</p> <p>Head 3; Rose 2; Arm 3. Trefoil stops.</p> <p>*a = Cambridge. <i>Weight</i>: 116.7 grs.</p>	 IHD ∴ ƿVT ∴ ∴ TRƿNSIENS ∴ PAR ∴ ∴ MEDIUM ∴ ILLORV ∴ ∴ IBƿT <p>(Crown punch no. 2 as shown.) Large ƿs.</p>	R 5 (Pl. C, 6)
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CLASS III *b*—continued

No.	Die	Obverse	Reverse	Die
10	O 6	<i>b</i> = British Museum. <i>Weight</i> : 115 grs. (<i>Ex</i> Clarke Thornhill (lot 6416) and Hilton Price collections; found in Paris.) <i>c</i> = Montagu, <i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1893, Pl. III, 2. <i>Weight</i> : 117.5 grs. <i>d</i> = British Museum. <i>Weight</i> : 117.4 grs.		R 5

CLASS III *c*

11	O 7	Same die, but reads DN S' .°. IB' .°.	Same die.	R 5
	(Pl. C, 5)	<i>a</i> = British Museum. <i>Weight</i> : 116.6 grs. <i>*b</i> = Ashmolean. Taken from James II's pocket, 1688. (Obv. only illustrated.) <i>Weight</i> : 117.6 grs. <i>c</i> = Ashmolean. <i>Weight</i> : 117.6 grs. <i>*d</i> = Ashmolean (Christ Church, Wake Bequest, 1737). <i>Weight</i> : 116 grs. <i>e</i> = Ashmolean (Keble College). <i>Weight</i> : 141.2 grs. (This coin has an ornamental rim and a loop for suspension, which accounts for its abnormal weight.) <i>f</i> = Cambridge. <i>Weight</i> : 116 grs.		(Pl. A, 4)

CLASS III *d*




12	O 8	<p>EDW/ARD[? : ?] DI . GRAT . REX . ANGL . Σ . FRANC . DNS . IB .</p> <p>A small square head, unlike anything else in the series. Rose 2; arm 3. Thin lettering. Stops are not clear, but appear to be trefoils all through. No trefoil between ED and W. Very large module. Very small, thin Rs with tapering limbs.</p>	 <p>INΘ' ZEVT' TRANSIENS PER : MEDIUM' ILLORV' IBAT</p> <p>(Crown punch no. 2.) The stops are not clearly shown in the photograph, but appear to be present only in one part of the legend—a colon after PER. Abbreviation marks appear after most of the words. Note the form of the π in πVT; it is rather like the ZE in certain Gorinchem issues of the Princess of Chimay.</p>	R 6
		<p><i>a</i> = Montagu, <i>Num. Chron.</i>, 1893, Pl. III, 3. <i>Weight</i>: 117 grs.</p> <p>There are in addition to the coins of group III recorded here many others whose description is too vague to be included; see Sotheby and Glendining, <i>Sale Catalogues</i>, Spink's <i>Numismatic Circular</i>, and a number of doubtfully accurate illustrations in old works such as Bishop Fleetwood's <i>Chronicon Preciosum</i> (1754 ed.), the plates of coins illustrated in the <i>Universal Magazine</i> (1749), and the <i>Pembroke Catalogue</i> (1746).</p>		

GROUP III





c. 1589-91

MINT OF CULEMBORG

(Coins Struck for the Ommelanden)

No.	Die	Obverse	Reverse	Die
13	O 1 (Pl. C, 7)	<p>ED . WARD . RÆ . AN' . MO . ORD . FR- ISITE . TD . . LÆGÆM</p> <p>Large oval head (cf. head 2), small rose (cf. Rose 1); arm resembles no. 2.  (= R) on banner. The arms on the shield are, quarterly, 1st and 4th, three billets, 2nd and 3rd, two lions.</p> <p>*a = The Hague. <i>Weight</i>: 117 grs.</p> <p><i>Note</i>: The obverse legend must be read from left to right, starting near the bottom of the coin in order to get its real meaning—MO ORD FRISITE &c.</p>	<p> IHD ANT' . TR- ANSIONS . POR . MODIVM ILLORV' . IBAT</p> <p>(Crown punch no. 3 as shown.) As are As reversed. Ab- breviation marks are <i>below</i> the trefoils.</p>	R 1 (Pl. C, 7)
14	O 2 (Pl. C, 8)	<p>ED WARD . RÆ . AN' . MO . ORD . FRISITE . TD . . LÆGÆM .</p> <p>A rougher and squarer head (cf. the Henry noble). Small rose (cf. no. 1). Arm resembles no. 2.  on banner.</p> <p>Arms on the shield: three hearts instead of billets, in the 1st and 4th quarters.</p> <p>*a = The Hague. <i>Weight</i>: 117 grs.</p>	Same die.	R 1 (Pl. C, 8)
15	O 2	<p>Same die, slightly more worn.</p> <p>a = The Hague. <i>Weight</i>: 117 grs.</p>	<p>Similar, but reading IHD, TRANSIONS &c.</p>	R 2

The following coins cannot be attributed positively to any one of the groups; their characteristics are in the main "early" for nos. 16 and 17 and "late" for nos. 18-20.


No.	Die	Obverse	Reverse	Die
16		<p>ED WARD' : DI' : GRW' : REX : ANGL' : S : RRRQ : DNS' : HIB' :</p> <p>Long, oval head with wide, low crown. Rose resembles no. 1. Sword-arm is thick with a point of armour, resembling no. 3, but has an annulet at the wrist (cf. nobles of Henry VI). Lettering is irregular in size, some letters being large, others small. As are fish-tailed. W. Abbreviation marks are large and curved.</p> <p><i>a</i> = British Museum. <i>Weight</i>:¹ 123.4 grs.</p>	<p> INQ' : AVT' : TR- NSIENS' : PAR MADIVM : ILLORV' : I : BTT</p> <p>Privy mark, a small, thick sun (?), double-struck. (as shown). Same characteristic lettering as the obv. Fleurs in the spandrils of the tressure.</p>	
17		<p>ED : : WARD' : DI : GRW' : REX : ANGL' : S : RRRQ : DNS' : I' : Oval face (different to 16)</p> <p>with a crown with tall fleurs. Rose resembles no. 1; sword-arm thin (cf. no. 2).</p> <p>Lettering is more widely spaced than on no. 16, and of plainer execution, though a number of the same punches (e.g. Q, W, R) are used. The R of RRRQ appears to be intended for an R-punch. [Note: this resembles a B.]</p> <p>*<i>a</i> = British Museum. <i>Weight</i>: 116 grs.</p> <p>Note: This coin is much closer to the original English dies than most other foreign pieces.</p>	<p> INQ' : AVT' : TB- NSIENS : PAR : MA- DIVM : ILLORVM : I : BTT</p> <p>Privy mark: a badly executed cross-fitchy (as shown). Lettering is similar to the obv. Trefoils in spandrils of tressure.</p>	(Pl. A, 8)
18		<p>ED : : WARD : DI : GRW' : REX : ANGL' : : RRRQ : DNS' IB' The style of the head is reminiscent of group I, but the nose is a variant of no. 2, and the arm of no. 3. The initial on the banner is of the form . Trefoil stops. Thin Ws with tapering limbs.</p> <p><i>a</i>: British Museum. <i>Weight</i>: 118.1 grs.</p>	<p> INQ' : AVT' : TR- NSIENS : PAR : MADIVM : ILLOR- VM : IBTT</p> <p>Privy mark, crown (punch no. 4 as shown). (Style of group I.) Trefoils instead of fleurs in the spandrils of the tressure. Same lettering as obv.</p>	

¹ This unusually heavy piece shows no signs of having been in circulation. It may be a pattern.

UNCLASSIFIED—continued

No.	Die	Obverse	Reverse	Die
19		<p>..ED WARD' .. DI' .. GRN' .. RDX' .. AN- GL J' .. RRND' ..' .. DNS' .. IB'</p> <p>A small, thin, pointed face, with wide, low crown. The rose resembles no. 2, and the arm no. 1. The royal initial is identical with that on no. 18. The lettering and punctuation are as no. 18, but the R-punch is apparently identical with that on group I (nos. 1-3).</p> <p>*a = British Museum. Weight: 117.1 grs.</p>	 <p>INQ' .. NVT' .. TRPNS' .. PAR' .. MADIWM' .. ILLOR- VM' .. IBTT' ..</p> <p>Privy mark: boar's head (punched over a crown?) as shown. Lettering and punctuation very like no. 16.</p>	(Pl. A, 9)

The following coin stands by itself in the series. It is certainly late in date.

No.	Die	Obverse	Reverse	Die
20	(Pl. C, 9)	<p>ED WARD' .. DI' .. GRN' .. RDX' .. ANGL' RRN' .. DNS' .. IB[...?]</p> <p>A very wide head with a low crown and a pointed chin. Rose resembles no. 2 and arm no. 2. The execution of this coin is very bad.</p> <p>The obverse design appears to have been damaged while being impressed upon the blank, as the edges and the tops of the letters have disappeared.</p> <p>*a = The Hague. Weight: 115.7 grs. (obv. only illustrated).</p>	 <p>INQ' .. NVT' .. TR- ANSIENS' .. PAR' .. MADIWM' .. ILLOR' .. IBTT</p> <p>Privy mark, Crown (punch no. 3 as shown). Small, poorly executed lettering as on the obverse. The reverse design is badly drawn and cramped—the sun being very small. Small fleurs in the spandrils of the tressure, and pellets at the corresponding points inside the tressure.</p>	

OTHER COINS ILLUSTRATED

PLATE A

1. Noble de Bourgogne ("Flanders noble") of Philippe le Bon (1419-67). [Ashmolean Museum; weight: 103.4 grs.]
2. Contrefaçon of a Henry VI noble ("The Henry noble"). [Ashmolean Museum, Christ Church Collection (Wake Bequest, 1737); weight: 103 grs.]
3. Bristol rose noble of Edward IV, privy mark, crown. [Ashmolean Museum, Christ Church Collection (A. T. Carter donation, 1946); weight: 118.1 grs.]

PLATE B

1. London rose noble of Edward IV, privy mark, a rose, countermarked for Dantzig. [British Museum.]
2. London rose noble, privy mark, a crown, countermarked for Riga. [British Museum; *ex* Cassal Sale, 1924.]
3. Calais noble of Henry VI, countermarked for Ypres. [Mr. A. H. F. Baldwin, 1945; now in the Ives Collection at New York.]

The history of the rose noble does not end with the sixteenth century, for it continued in circulation for some time afterwards. It has already been said that rose nobles were prohibited in Scotland in 1598; this edict seems to have been ineffective, because rose nobles, together with Henry nobles and nobles of the Dutch provinces, were still circulating in 1612 and 1613.¹ In the latter year the "old" rose noble (by which I understand the proclamation to mean "Edward" rose nobles of any kind) was again prohibited, but afterwards we hear very little of the rose noble in the British Isles. Isolated specimens were probably still to be seen, and were certainly hoarded in England, for one occurs in the Chesham (Bucks.) find, dating from about 1637;² a Scottish Act of Parliament of 7 August 1645 rated the rose noble at "eleven punds"³.

Abroad, both currencies continued to flourish. The prevalence of the Henry noble in Germany has been shown by the composition of the Fischenich hoard, but there are other finds which indicate that the Netherlands was still the centre of distribution. At Haynk (North Brabant) there was one Henry noble associated with six rose nobles (of which one was certainly a *contrefaçon*), and some angels.⁴ The date of this hoard is about 1619-20, and its composition is similar to earlier hoards.

Another find of the same class at Rotterdam included a number of rose nobles, many of them Dutch provincial issues.⁵ Two other hoards, contemporary with Fischenich (*c.* 1624-6), contained rose nobles, Monnikendam (Holland)⁶ and Neeritter (Limburg).⁷ The latter also included Henry VI nobles.

There is no doubt that the circulation of the rose noble was widespread in central and northern Europe at this time; a letter to the Augsburg banker Count Philip Fugger describing the confiscation of the property of the Jew Meisel at Prague in April 1602 lists amongst his money "15,000 pure golden Rosenobles of 4 Florins 5 Kreutzers apiece, making 61,250 florins".⁸ From this passage we may conjecture that the rose noble was not regarded as more than a current coin, the florin being the "coin of account" in central Europe.

The extent of the trade currency of rose nobles and Henry nobles is confirmed by the large number of weights issued from Antwerp and Amsterdam in the seventeenth century. At the former city they were

¹ Cochran-Patrick, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

² *Num. Chron.*,³ x (1890), p. 48 f.

³ Lindsay, *Coinage of Scotland*, 1845, p. 251.

⁴ Schulman, *Catalogue*, Amsterdam, Mai 1912.

⁵ *Bulletin Mensuel* (Brussels, 1882-3), p. 57.

⁷ *Revue Numismatique*, 1908, p. 567.

⁶ *Tijdschrift* (iv), 1896, pp. 66 and 96.

⁸ *Fugger News Letters*, vol. i, p. 239.

still being made in 1648, and weights for both standards occur in Dutch boxes of scales as late as 1690-1701.¹

In France the rose noble probably soon fell into disuse, but in the Netherlands and farther north it must have retained its influence for many years. In Denmark it was rated at 4 *Rigsdalers* in 1619 and 1622,² and in 1639 Danish mint records speak of Elizabethan and Edward rose nobles as well as the Flemish "Henricus Nobel";³ the latter was rated at 3 *Rigsdalers*.

It must have been soon after 1650 that the rose noble began to drop out of the European currency, for we find no mention of it in the records after this date; as far as England is concerned this was no doubt due to an almost total disappearance of English hammered gold as a result of the recoinage under William III⁴, and to a complete absence of any hoard material.

The only glimpse of the rose noble which we catch is an unusual one. On 16 December 1688 King James II attempted to leave England. He was stopped at Faversham by some fishermen, who took from his pocket several medals, amongst them a rose noble of group III (Pl. C, 5) which eventually found its way into the Bodleian Library and thence to the Ashmolean Museum. Did James regard this coin merely as a "pocket-piece"—an amulet, medal, or touchpiece—or had it a purchasing power abroad? We may doubt whether it was still in general currency, but undoubtedly it would have been taken by its weight.

There is reason to believe that the life of the rose noble was prolonged further in certain parts of Europe; a French author, Abot de Bazinghen, writing in 1764, gives the following interesting information under the headings of *Noble à la Rose*, *Rose-Noble* (i.e. the Dutch *Rozenoble*), and *Noble Henry*.⁵

"NOBLES à la rose, ancienne monnoie d'or d'Angleterre, qui à present n'y a presque plus de cours . . . on en voit encore en Hollande, ou ils sont reçut pur le pied de 11 florins."

"NOBLE HENRY, autre monnoie d'or d'Angleterre de 14 grains moins pésent que le nobles à la rose, & seulement de fin à 23 karats & demi" [the rose noble was 23 carats $3\frac{3}{4}$ grains fine]. And again:

"ROSE NOBLE. Monnaie d'or que se fabrique en Hollande, & qui y a cours pour onze florins."

Evidently rose nobles were taken by weight in the Netherlands; Abot implies that those rated at 11 florins were English, but it is likely that they included the old "Edward" *contrefaçons*, of whose continental origin Abot was unaware.

¹ e.g. the box illustrated in *Brit. Num. Journ.* vi (1909), p. 292, and in Sheppard and Musham, *Money Scales and Weights*, p. 15, Fig. 12. I have seen another in which both rose noble and guinea weights are included. There is no proof that both currencies were used at the same time.

² *Beskrivelse over Danske Mynter og Medailler* (Copenhagen, 1791), p. xxvi.

³ *Ibid.*, p. xxxv; a list dated 8 June 1639.

⁴ Loundes, *A Report containing an Essay for the Amendment of the Silver Coins*, 1695, p. 99.

⁵ *Traité des Monnoies et de la Jurisdiction de la Cour des Monnoies, en Forme de Dictionnaire* (Paris, 1764), t. ii, under the letters N (p. 322), and R (p. 581).

Stray specimens of rose nobles and their copies may still have been taken at bullion value in England as late as 1732; a proclamation of that year mentioned that a number of old gold issues, notably those of Edward VI, Elizabeth, and James I, were still being taken by weight, and ordered all coins of "Angel gold" to be brought to the mint for recoinage into current coin as soon as possible.¹

After this the rose noble entirely disappears, except as a curiosity. Snelling does not mention it in his work on the European coinage of his own time,² but he does give a picture of a Flanders noble (The "Old Flemish noble") and a Dutch rose noble at the end of his tables of the quantity of standard gold.³ These are merely illustrations taken from much earlier placards and are not evidence for their circulation in Snelling's time.

In its last stages the rose noble presents a curious parallel to the late Roman gold issues which were considered obsolete in early Saxon times and became jewellery, being mounted and looped. This is surely the case with a coin of group III in the Ashmolean which has an ornamental rim and a loop for suspension (see catalogue no. 11 e).

NOTE

Since I wrote this paper Dr. Herbert Ives of the American Numismatic Society has published more information about countermarked nobles (Amer. Num. Soc., *Museum Notes*, ii, 1947, pp. 53 ff.).

In this exceedingly useful monograph Dr. Ives has summarized the information at present known about all the counter-stamps so far recorded, and he has been able to illustrate several new specimens. In the course of these notes he tentatively attributes the Riga stamp to the siege of that city by Gustavus Adolphus in 1621; this is considerably later than I put it, and although Dr. Ives has not been able to support his idea with any evidence, I agree with him that 1621 is as likely a date as any other for the stamp, and accordingly wish to modify my statement (p. 190 above).

Museum Notes has reached me too late for two of the pieces described there to be included in my illustrations and catalogue of dies. The first is a new specimen of the Arkel rose noble of group II, class II (no. 7 in my catalogue; O 4/R 3; see **Pl. III, 2**). It is from the same dies as The Hague coin, but is counterstamped for Riga. It figured in the Preiss Collection (*Egger Sale Cat.*, 16 Nov. 1874) as lot 4584. The second coin is also a new variety; it is a rose noble of Gorinchem, group II, class I, slightly varied from those described in my catalogue, and counterstamped for the town of Bommel in Gelderland (siege of 1599). This stamp is a shield bearing the municipal arms of two roses, with a rampant lion in the upper left-hand canton (*Museum Notes*, p. 57; **Pl. x, 7**).

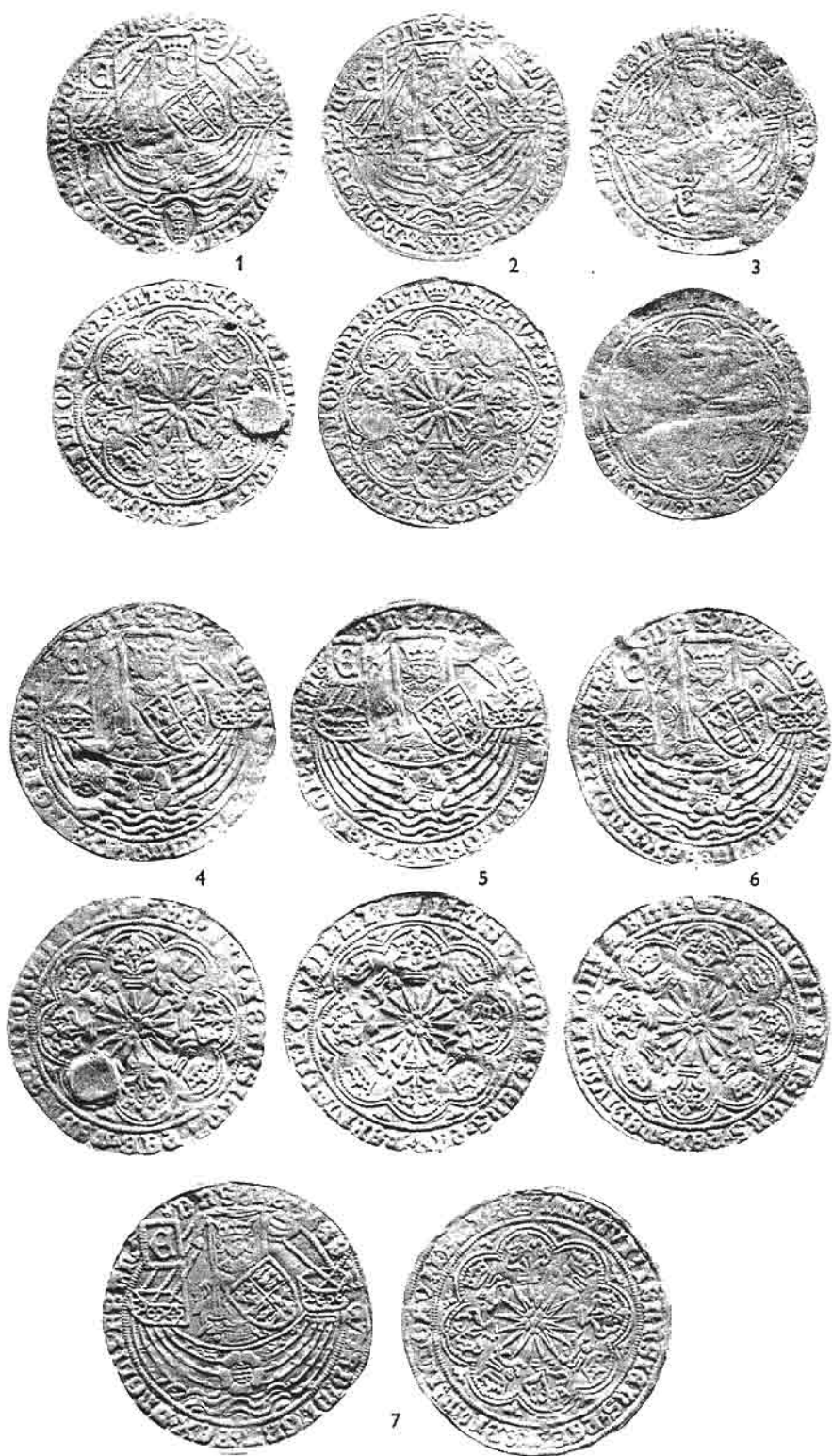
¹ Proclamation of 21 Feb. 1732; summarized by Ruding, *Annals* (ii), p. 74, footnote 3.

² *A View of the Coins at this time Current throughout Europe* (London, 1766).

³ *Doctrine of Gold and Silver Computations* (London, 1766).



ROSE NOBLE IMITATIONS



ROSE NOBLE IMITATIONS



1



2



3



4



5



7



6



8



7



9



8

ROSE NOBLE IMITATIONS



A MEDAL OF ANNE BOLEYN

By D. F. ALLEN

MEMBERS may be interested in the medal which is illustrated above. It is in the Royal Coin and Medal Collection in the National Museum of Denmark at Copenhagen, by whom it was acquired in 1921 from Captain Fr. P. Grünwaldt of Copenhagen (1840-1923). It is cast in bronze and has no reverse. It is reproduced here by kind permission of Dr. Georg Galster, the Curator.

It would be pleasant to claim for the medal that it was a contemporary portrait of Henry VIII's famous queen. There are relatively few portraits of Anne, perhaps because she was not particularly beautiful. The Venetian Ambassador said of her that she "is not the handsomest of women; she is of midling stature, swarthy complexion, long neck, wide mouth, bosom not much raised, in fact has nothing but the king's great appetite and her eyes which are black and beautiful and take great effect on those who served the queen when she was on the throne". Although the medal fits well enough with this description, it is almost certainly necessary to class it as a "restoration", that is to say, a replacement, in a following century of a medal which it was then felt should have existed. Forgery is too strong a term.

The medal probably owes its origin in the long run to a three-quarter face drawing by Holbein, now in the possession of the Earl of Bradford. This drawing is the source of a number of paintings and prints. The majority of these, for instance the paintings in the collections of Earl Spencer and the Earl of Warwick (the former exhibited at Agnew's in 1935), have restored the necklace which is scarcely indicated in the drawing by a long rope, the two cords of which fall straight from the shoulders to the top of the bodice. In a Hollar print, dated 1649, which is explicitly stated to be taken from a

Holbein drawing at Arundel, the same portrait is reproduced in reverse, but instead of a long rope, Anne wears a short, tight collar of large pearls, from the centre of which hangs a single drop pearl. Presumably the Arundel drawing is the same as that now in the possession of the Earl of Bradford.

Although the Hollar print shows Anne three-quarter face and the medal in profile, the latter was probably taken from the former. In the medal the details are exactly as shown by Hollar, especially the necklace. It would be possible for the two to have had a common ancestor, itself derived from the Holbein drawing, but it is more likely that Hollar invented the necklace. Though not inappropriate to Tudor times, as the lead medalet of Anne in the British Museum (*Medallic Illustrations*, vol. i, p. 34, no. 22) shows, it is very much in accordance with the taste of Hollar's day. A lightly sketched line in the Holbein drawing may imply that Anne, notoriously fond of jewellery, was wearing a necklace of the kind; in any case it is quite sufficient to have given Hollar his cue.

Other portraits of Anne show her in somewhat similar, but not identical, costume, and with quite different jewellery. The principal group is associated with the painting (no. 668), in the National Portrait Gallery, to which I owe much of this information. A different portrait, supposed to be of Anne, was exhibited at the City of Bradford Art Gallery in 1943, and another still, of which I have seen no reproduction, is stated to have been in Basel.¹

There are other suspicious points about the medal. One would hardly expect to find a portrait medal of an ordinary Court lady at this time in England, but, had Anne been more than that when it was made, she would surely have been referred to under one of her titles. After she was queen, when a medal would be less exceptional, it would have been quite impossible to omit all reference to the royal title. The form of the name seems unusual. *Boleyn* or *Bolleyn* were the commonest spellings and forms such as *Bolen* and *Bulen* occur; the spelling of the name seems to have been more or less interchangeable with that of Boulogne, but, nevertheless, I have not actually come across a case where it is spelt *Boulen*. The use of a round *u* instead of a *v* in the early sixteenth century is, as Sir George Hill pointed out to Dr. Galster in 1921, not impossible, but very unusual.

The small letters at the end of the main legend are a problem. They have defied all attempts to read them. If the medal were really Tudor, one would expect them to be a continuation of the main legend: the common formula was to conclude the name with a statement of the subject's age or the date, preceded by some abbreviation of *Aetatis Suae* or *Anno* as the case might be. The legend is clearly neither of these. Read from the centre the first two letters could be seen as *Z3*, a possible indication of age. Read the other way up, they might be an artist's signature or a date. Dr. Galster has suggested that the word might be *FESEZ?*, an improbable artist's name in

¹ See P. Friedmann, *Anne Boleyn*, 1884.

France or elsewhere. The last four signs could conceivably be read as $\text{Æ}5\text{EZ}$ (i.e. 1532), but this is not particularly easy. The medal is probably not an original cast, and the legend has no doubt suffered on the process of aftercasting.

I fear the medal must be placed in the same category as that of Thomas More (*Medallic Illustrations*, vol. i, p. 34, 23), also cast in bronze, which Sir George Hill has condemned in his *Medals of the Renaissance* (p. 151). Both are "restorations", but in both cases the appearance of the metal and the style of casting suggests that they are relatively old. Judgements on the basis of style are apt to go astray, but it would not be surprising if both could be shown to have an origin in the seventeenth century, not necessarily in England. If a specimen can be found on which the small letters are legible, it may be possible to prove whether this conjecture is right or wrong.

A FEW NOTES ON SWISS OFFICERS AND MERCENARY REGIMENTS IN THE PAY OF ENGLAND

By L. FORRER

ALTHOUGH the following notes are not strictly connected with numismatics, yet they may be of interest indirectly to students of British military annals and collectors of war medals.

A *History of Switzerland, 1499-1914*, by Wilhelm Oechsli, late Professor of Swiss History at the University of Zürich, and translated from the German by Eden and Cedar Paul, was published in 1922 by the Cambridge University Press. This important work is supplemented by an appendix, which first appeared in 1919 in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, and was later issued in pamphlet form, entitled *The Historical Relations of England and Switzerland*.¹

This concise record of Anglo-Swiss political connexions led one to search for further information on the services of Swiss officers and Swiss mercenary regiments in the pay of England.

Richard Pace was the first British envoy to propose, in 1514, an alliance between the powerful "Swiss league" and his master, King Henry VIII, against France. Cardinal Schinner, the famous representative of the Swiss cantons, came over to London, but French intrigues thwarted the negotiations which came to nothing.

The Reformation brought Switzerland in closer touch with the British Islands. During the reigns of Edward VI and Queen Elizabeth the spiritual intercourse between the two countries became very intimate. John Knox, who had sat at the feet of Calvin in Geneva, founded the Presbyterian Church on Calvinistic principles. Under Mary Tudor, and later under Charles I, numerous British refugees found an asylum and friendly welcome in Switzerland. The relations of friendship continued under Cromwell, who was well supported by the Swiss in his conflict with the Duke of Savoy over the Waldensians. On the accession of William of Orange, the champion of Europe against France, England and the Netherlands planned to take advantage of the friendliness of the Protestant cantons to detach them from their alliance with France and to utilize Swiss mercenaries. An English envoy, Thomas Coxe, was sent in 1689 to conclude an alliance and secure 4,000 mercenaries. This alliance did not come off, because William III would not accept the condition laid down that "the Swiss troops should only be used for purposes of defence". Oechsli tells us that "the Protestant cantons showed a scarcely concealed dislike to Louis XIV after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685), and maintained the closest relations with the Protestant naval powers. Zurich and Bern rejoiced over the victories of Marlborough and of Prince Eugene, and rightly so from the Swiss point of view, for, had

¹ Also *Swiss Observer*, 1934.

not Louis XIV met with defeat in the War of the Spanish Succession, Neuchâtel would probably be French to-day and not Swiss."

To clearly understand how it came to pass that Swiss troops came into the service of England, it seems best to quote the following lengthy passage from Professor Oechsli's admirable work (pp. 424-7):

"After the War of the Spanish Succession the principle of Swiss neutrality was beyond question. Hence Great Britain for long had no occasion to take a lively interest in Swiss affairs, although in the eighteenth century she maintained permanently in Bern a minister of the second or third rank, who was accredited to all the cantons, but especially to those which were Protestant.

"It was the outbreak of the French revolutionary war which induced the British Cabinet to pay more attention to the Alpine Republic. Lord Robert Fitzgerald, a man of rank, who was British envoy in Bern from 1792 to 1794, was commissioned to persuade the Cantons to join the coalition against France. But despite the anger felt by the Swiss at the massacre of the Swiss Guards in the defence of the Tuileries by the revolutionaries, and the hatred which the Swiss ruling aristocrats felt against the Revolution, Lord Robert was confronted with the immutable principle of Swiss neutrality, so that he was unable to carry out his mission. His successor, William Wickham, was envoy to the Cantons merely in name. His chief task was working, from Switzerland as a basis, to support anti-revolutionary movements in the interior of France. His intrigues with the French royalists were so extensive that when, after the *coup d'état* of 18 Fructidor, 1797, the French Directory prepared to open relations with Switzerland, it demanded, as the first condition, the expulsion of the British envoy from Switzerland. But, when Wickham was persuaded by the Mayor of Bern, Steiger, to quit Switzerland of his own accord, the Directory of course at once made fresh demands.

"In 1798 Switzerland succumbed to the attack of France—a misfortune which England was unable to prevent. On the other hand, English gold and English advice played a great rôle in the Second Coalition war of 1799. By the aid of English gold the Swiss émigrés, working from Swabia and the Vorarlberg, tried to foment in their country a rising of the people against the French and their vassal, the 'Helvetic Republic'. An 'Old Swiss Legion' penetrated with the Austrians commanded by Hotze, into Switzerland. According to the representations of the Swiss émigrés the Austrians had expected that the Swiss would rise like one man, and that from 15,000 to 18,000 volunteers at least would join them, especially as England had declared herself ready to undertake all the expenses. But the rush to the Swiss regiments in British pay was not greater than that to the 'Helvetic' brigades in the service of France. In the middle of August, 1799, it was estimated that there were 3,400 Swiss on the side of the Austrians, while Masséna had with him some 5,000 'Helvetians'. The opinions of the Swiss were just then so divided that it was not possible for them to take any active steps on one side or the other. They could just as little get up enthusiasm for the Allies who desired, under the pretence of national independence, to restore the hated rule of the aristocrats in the towns, as for the French, who plundered the Swiss in the name of Liberty and Equality.

"The British envoy, William Wickham, had re-entered Switzerland with the Austrians. The British Cabinet genuinely desired the independence of Switzerland, but, being only superficially acquainted with the local situation, it regarded as an essential condition the restoration of the old constitutions. Wickham therefore aimed zealously at the complete restoration of the old state of things and of the old governments. According to him and his friend Steiger, it was necessary that, in every village which passed from the hands of the French into those of the Austrians, the 'legitimate' polity, as it existed before the outbreak of the Revolution, should be set up again. Archduke Charles, who was guided in political matters by Hotze (a native of the rural portion of the Canton of Zurich) was not inclined to be in such haste. By the irony of fate it was the complaints of Wickham about the demeanour of the Austrian generals which, it would seem, gave the impulse to the new war scheme which brought

about the shifting of the fortunes of war to the side of the French. The British Cabinet began to be suspicious of the intentions of the Austrians as regards Switzerland, and therefore proposed that an exclusively Russian army under the command of Suvaroff, should be collected in that country. So England was the real author of the idea of Suvaroff's celebrated campaign, and of the second battle of Zurich, which was so decisive for the result of the whole campaign, and even of the second Coalition war, because of the withdrawal of the Russians from the coalition.

"By the Peace of Lunéville (1801) France formally restored Swiss independence so far as regards Austria. But in the eyes of the Corsican, who dreamt of world dominion, that amounted to nothing more than words. In the course of the peace negotiations with England he did not permit any mention of Helvetia any more than of Batavia and of the Italian Republics, so that in the Peace of Amiens (1802) Switzerland was not spoken of. On the other hand, England was of all the Powers the only one to protest against the fresh intervention of France into Swiss affairs by the announcement of the mediation (September 30th, 1802) of the First Consul. The British Ministry reminded the First Consul that the Swiss Cantons, like every independent State, possessed the right (which besides was expressly guaranteed to them by the Treaty of Lunéville) to order their internal affairs as they pleased; England, therefore, could not believe that France would insist on hindering an independent nation from freely exercising its rights. This intervention on the part of England woke up all the pride of Bonaparte, and led to a remarkable exchange of notes, the language of which laid bare, as if by way of prophecy, the immeasurable ambition of the Corsican, and was the cause of the renewed breach of the world-peace which had scarcely been concluded.

"England for the moment could not prevent the fact that the Act of Mediation (1803) confirmed afresh the complete dependence of Switzerland on France. Switzerland, therefore, had naturally to take part in the Continental Blockade, which forbade (1806) the importation of English goods, and (1810) confiscated those English goods which were in the country. Further, in 1807, Switzerland had to put forth a strict prohibition against any recruiting which was not based on a military capitulation in harmony with the French alliance. This prohibition was exclusively directed against England, who then had in her service more Swiss mercenaries than ever before.

"The system by which Swiss mercenaries were employed by the English differed from that adopted in the case of the French, Dutch, and Spanish, in that it was based on no official treaties, and was therefore merely a private undertaking. In this form England, despite the failure of Coxe's mission in 1691, had taken Swiss mercenaries into her pay for the first time. Between 1751 and 1755 five companies of Swiss soldiers fought in the East Indies in the service of the British East India Company. But the employment of Swiss mercenaries in the British army reached its greatest extent in the days of Napoleon. Then three whole Swiss regiments were in the British service. De Meuron's regiment, originally raised for the Dutch East India Company, passed over, after that Company had come to an end in Ceylon (1795), into the British service, took part in Wellington's campaign in Hindustan, formed the garrison of Malta in 1806, and was in 1813 sent to Canada, where in 1816 it was disbanded. Von Roll's Regiment was raised for England in 1795 despite official prohibition, served in Corsica, Elba, Portugal, Egypt, Gibraltar, and Sicily, took part in the conquest of the Ionian Islands (1810), was in part transferred to Spain in 1812, then reunited in Sicily (1814), and finally disbanded in Corfu in 1815. Von Watteville's regiment was formed in 1801 out of the remnants of the four Swiss regiments known by the names of Bachmann, Roverea, Salis-Marschlins, and Courten which, paid by England, but under command of the Austrians, had been through the Second Coalition War. A detachment helped in the defence of Elba, while the remainder of the regiment was sent to Egypt. Both parts were reunited in Malta in 1803, formed a part of the Anglo-Russian army in Naples (1805), and fought in the battle of Maida in Calabria (July 4th, 1806), against brother Swiss who were in the service of France. Transferred to Cadiz in 1811, it helped in the defence of that town and of Carthage, was despatched in 1813 to Canada, and was there disbanded in 1816."

The further official relations of England with Switzerland do not come within the scope of the present study. Suffice it to say that Britain's intervention in favour of Switzerland at the Congress of Vienna, and later in averting war with Prussia in connexion with Neuchâtel, will never be forgotten by the country, whose neutral position in central Europe had secured for her, after 1920, the seat of the League of Nations at Geneva, now defunct.

Our civilization cannot easily conceive mercenary service. In our days we take arms for the honour and the independence of our own country. But in former centuries the governments of England, France, Germany, Holland, and Spain did not object to their own citizens enlisting in foreign service. In 1709, for instance, there were five German regiments and five Anglo-Irish regiments in the pay of Louis XIV. The Swiss, after the Burgundian wars, had risen to such a fame for military prowess that practically every great ruler held it indispensable to have Swiss troops in his pay, the Swiss being considered as the best soldiers in the world. *Honour and Fidelity* was their motto, which is inscribed on the lion of Lucerne, Thorwaldsen's monument erected in memory of the massacre of the Swiss Guard of the Tuileries, 10 August 1792.

One has often reproached the Swiss with having fought each other in opposite armies, but this is equally true of thousands of English, Scottish, Irish, or German mercenaries who for centuries took up arms in French service against their compatriots. Under the ancient régime the soldier had no nationality, and passed from one camp to another without an afterthought. To mention one case only, Maurice de Saxe, the victor of Fontenoy, fought against Louis XIV and later served Louis XV. The Swiss regiments were units placed at the service of foreign powers by the Cantons. It must, however, be mentioned that the governments of the Cantons were the first to understand the humiliating character of mercenary service and to introduce measures to safeguard the dignity of military capitulations.

The scarlet uniform of the Swiss was the symbol of Helvetic valour. For two centuries in France, in England, and as late as 1860 in Naples, in the smoke of a thousand battles, the "brick walls" appeared as a vision of glory, the emblem of victory, defying defeat.

The general staff of a Swiss regiment consisted of a colonel, lieutenant-colonel, major, three assistant majors, an accountant sergeant-major, sergeant-major, two chaplains (one Catholic and one Protestant), two doctors, a surgeon, a commissary-general, two treasurers, a band leader, an assistant sergeant-major, a secretary-interpreter, a commissary of stores, two justice officers, and an executioner, a total of twenty-five to twenty-eight officers and officials. Each company counted 200 men, of which there were five officers (a captain, two lieutenants, one sub-lieutenant, a standard-bearer), eight sergeants, four ordnance officers, five drummers and buglers. The total effective comprised 2,450 men, distributed into twelve companies and a general staff.

Such a crack regiment was a symbol of strength. When on review days the fine red regiment traversed Paris, filling the street with the crash of the drums, the people ran out of their houses to admire the legendary soldiers, resplendent with the military virtues of their ancestors, the gallant and loyal supporters of the dynasty.

"There is no general or officer", the French ambassador the Marquis de Bonnac wrote in 1733, "who would not in battle rather have Swiss soldiers under his command than any others."

To quote again Oechsli's *History of Switzerland*, p. 237:

"At the outbreak of the French Revolution there were Swiss guards round the throne at Versailles, Turin and Naples; the Pope in Rome and his legates in Ferrara, Ravenna and Bologna were all guarded by Swiss mercenaries. Twelve Swiss regiments served in France, six in Holland, four in Spain, four in Naples, and two in Sardinia. There were also numerous officers and men in 'non-capitulated' service, under the Emperor, in Prussia, England, Russia, etc. The single family of Reding (in Schwyz) had during the eighteenth century no less than seventeen officers of the rank of general in foreign service. Whatever opinion may be held of mercenary service and its consequences, one point cannot be denied—that the Swiss in foreign armies, by their reputation for fidelity, bravery, and discipline, greatly contributed for centuries, and notwithstanding the decline of the military institutions of their own country, to preserve Switzerland from any foreign attack, since it was generally believed that in their own mountains such soldiers would prove invincible."

Although individual Swiss mercenaries fought under English colours from the fifteenth century, yet the first attempt at enlisting an army, 4,000 strong, was not made before 1689, when William III sent Thomas Coxe to the Helvetic cantons for this purpose. Owing to French intrigue, Coxe's mission failed, but from this date onwards regular Swiss troops came into British service and pay.

From the time of Louis XI the Swiss had proved their loyalty to the French kings and gained many brilliant victories for them, but the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the persecution of the Huguenots, and Louis XIV's high-handed policy, had alienated from him the sympathies of the Protestant cantons. So in 1690 the five Protestant cantons and the city of St. Gall concluded an offensive and defensive treaty with His Britannic Majesty for service in the States-general. The Swiss had not remained unmoved by the valorous struggle of the Dutch against Spain for the recovery of their independence. Almost a hundred years before Hans Kreig von Bellikon had fought in 1599-1600 under Maurice of Nassau with five Swiss companies and later many Swiss warriors lost their lives in the service of the Princes of Orange. Soon after the conclusion of the Treaty of St. Gall (10 March 1690) Captains de Montmollin, de Goumoëns, de May, de Morlot, d'Erlach, Séguin, Rolaz de Rosay began recruiting with the approval of their governments. From Zurich, a battalion of 800 men was raised under Heinrich Lochmann, Felix Werdmüller, Schneeberger, and Schlatter, and this was augmented in the next year by another of the same strength. Other officers, Nicholas von Tscharner, Albert von Mülinen, Wilhelm von Muralt, and Hercule de Capol left French and Spanish service to offer their swords to the

States-general, with a regiment of 1,600 to 2,000 men. The Dutch service soon became very popular, especially in the lands of Vaud and Zurich. The subjects of Vaud, better treated by the States-general and England than they had been by France, attained important posts in the Dutch army. Such names as the following have to be recorded: Mestral, Chandieu, Goumoëns, Crousaz, Constant, Polier, Roguin, and Sacconay. "You could not find more loyal and devoted troops than the Swiss", stated the Duke of Holstein to the States-general, "their government is similar to yours." In the spring of 1697 a further regiment, the sixth, that of Sacconay, recruited in Vaud, became incorporated in the army of the Netherlands, after having fought for three years in Italy and Germany, in the service of William III.

Jean de Sacconay, seigneur de Bursinel, between Rolle and Nyon, had withdrawn to his castle, in 1694, after thirty years' campaigns in the service of France. He had served the French king under illustrious generals, at Senef under the grand Condé, in Sicily under Maréchal Vivonne, in Catalonia under Bellefonds, at Fleurus and Steinkirk under Luxemburg. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the dragonnades led to his relinquishing French service in November 1693. But his military career was not to be ended yet. Lord Galloway searched him out in his retreat, and on behalf of the King of England suggested his raising up a regiment of 1,600 men in English pay to help the Duke of Savoy against Louis XIV. The offer was promptly accepted, and a capitulation was concluded in January 1694. Colonel de Sacconay enlisted troops, chiefly in the land of Vaud, and four companies of Oberkan's regiment of Zurich were added to their number; the latter had served England already for three years in Piedmont. The regiment being constituted (two battalions of four companies of 200 men, in all 1,600 men), left for Ivrea. Sacconay took special pains to instruct his regiment, and has left a "*Recueil de ce qui se pratique dans le régiment suisse, de Sacconay, au service de sa majesté britannique*", which shows to what severe discipline officers and soldiers were subjected, so much so that even games of chance, cards, and dice were prohibited in the camps, and everyone was commanded, under penalty, to attend frequently and diligently divine service. The rules of service were framed in strictest Huguenot austerity:

"1. All officers and soldiers shall diligently attend divine service; any who shall absent themselves without reasonable cause shall be severely reprimanded and condemned to a fine.

2. Any officer or soldier blaspheming against the Holy Trinity, God the Father, God the Son or God the Holy Spirit, or attacking any article of the Christian faith, shall have his tongue pierced with a hot iron.

Soldiers refusing to obey are liable to the death penalty.

Dice, card playing and other games of chance are not tolerated in the camps."

This strict discipline was one of the great assets of the Swiss troops. Most of the officers of the Regiment of Sacconay were Vaudois

subjects of T.E. of Berne. One of these, François Louis de Pesmes de Saint-Saphorin, distinguished himself later on in the diplomatic career in Austria and England. Another, Jean Daniel Abram Davel, became the future martyr of his country.

In the spring of 1697 Sacconay was presented to King William III by Lord Galloway and his regiment entered the Dutch service. Under Prince Eugene and Marlborough, Sacconay rendered important services at the sieges of Kaiserswerth, Venloo, Ruremonde, and Liège (1702), de Huy, and Limbourg (1703), and during the campaign of 1704. He was made Brigadier on 10 November 1704 and Commander of Bergen-op-Zoom.

At the battle of Ramillies, where Villeroy's army of 80,000 men was thoroughly defeated, the 10,000 Swiss of Sturler, May, Cappol, Cham-brier, and Sacconay fought bravely on the side of the Allies. The Duke of Marlborough, who was charging with them, found himself suddenly surrounded by French squadrons. A young Vaudois, Captain de Constant d'Hermenches, noticing the critical situation of the general, managed to extricate him by a clever manœuvre, for which he was rewarded by being appointed aide-de-camp to the Duke of Albemarle, colonel-general of the Swiss in the service of Holland. Samuel de Constant became later lieutenant-general and died in 1756 at Lausanne, aged 80.

In 1707, after the death of Marie of Orléans, Duchess of Nemours, sovereign of Neuchâtel and Valangin, a number of pretenders presented themselves to take up her succession. On the 3rd of November of that year, after lengthy deliberation the Trois États of Neuchâtel and Valangin invested H.M. Frederick I of Prussia with the sovereign rights, providing the guarantee of all liberties, franchises, and privileges and immunities, previously enjoyed by the burghers and people of the country. On the receipt of this news, Louis XIV, deeply hurt, ceased all commercial relations with the canton and sent 11,000 cavalry to Huningen while concentrating 27 battalions at Besançon.

Berne and Zurich immediately threw 5,000 men under General von Tscharner to the Franche-Comté and French frontier; General de Sacconay took up the command of the contingent of Neuchâtel, and 30,000 Bernese and Vaudois troops were found ready to march within a few days. Louis XIV, who needed all his armies to fight the Allies, was reduced to withdraw, and thus the sovereignty of Neuchâtel was for ever wrenched away from the House of Bourbon.

Louis XIV's principal opponent on this occasion was General de Saint-Saphorin, who had formerly served in the regiment of Sacconay, and later in the service of the States-general.

François Louis de Pesmes de Saint-Saphorin was born in 1668, at the château of St. Saphorin, near Vevey, canton Vaud. After leaving the Dutch service he passed into Austria, became infantry colonel, vice-admiral of the fleet of the Danube, fought the Turks, and came back to the land of Vaud with the appointment of major-general in 1703.

The *Army List* of 1815 mentions three Swiss Regiments which fought on the British side in the Napoleonic Wars, those of Roll, Meuron, and Watteville.

ROLL'S REGIMENT

(Permitted to bear on their Colours and Appointments a SPHINX, with the word EGYPT, in commemoration of the campaign of 1801.)

Facings light blue; lace silver.

Rank	Name	Rank in the	
		Regiment	Army
Colonel	Fra. Baron Rottenburgh	2 Sept. 1813	M.-Gen. 25 July 1810
Lieut.-Colonel	J. Baron de Sonnenberg	25 Sept. 1802	M.-Gen. 4 June 1814
	Frederick, Baron Eben	7 Mar. 1811	Col. 4 June 1819
Major	Charles de Vogelsang	25 Sept. 1802	Lt.-Col. 25 July 1810
	Philip, Baron de Capol	30 Oct. 1806	Lt.-Col. 1 Jan. 1812
Captain	Charles Philip de Bossett	15 Oct. 1808 ¹	Lt.-Col. 4 June 1814
	Anthony Mohr	9 Dec. 1794	Lt.-Col. 1 Jan. 1812
	Albert Steiger	27 Aug. 1799	Major 4 June 1811
	Henry Rhyner	25 Dec. 1802	Major 4 June 1813
	Nicholas Müller	5 Jan. 1804	Major 4 June 1814
	Joseph Berbié	1 Oct. 1804	Major 4 June 1814
	Joseph Glutz	4 Apr. 1805	
	Benoît Rhyner	3 Sept. 1807	
	Amantz de Sury	6 Oct. 1808	
	Louis Müller	25 Jan. 1810	
	Antoine Courant	21 Mar. 1811	
	Francis Glutz	29 Oct. 1812	
	Frederick de Roussillon	21 Apr. 1814	
Lieutenant	Ulissee Gouquelberg	20 Oct. 1804	
	Jacob Frey	22 Dec. 1804	
	Joseph Tugginer	30 Oct. 1806	
	Conrad Müller	4 Nov. 1807	Adjutant
	Jost. de Müller	5 Nov. 1807	
	Stephen de Planta	3 Dec. 1807	
	Amantz Glutz	23 May 1808	
	Auguste de Courten	18 Dec. 1808	
	Michael Cruenas	17 Dec. 1808	
	J. P. Sorgenfrei	21 Dec. 1808	
	Hector de Salis	22 Dec. 1808	
	Charles Dertheil	13 Apr. 1809	
	Peter Maul	24 Jan. 1810	
	Charles Panaack	25 Jan. 1810	
	De Hertenstein	16 May 1810	
	Gabriel de May	17 May 1810	
	Edmond Tugginer	26 Feb. 1811	
	Otto Henry Salinger	28 Feb. 1811	
	Maurice d'Erlach	29 Aug. 1811	
	Chas. Fred. Graumann	20 Aug. 1812	
	Joseph Gürtler	9 Dec. 1812	
	Alexander Gingins	10 Dec. 1812	
	E. Tugginer	29 Sept. 1813	
	Nicholas Stutzer	30 Sept. 1813	
	Charles Trott	28 Apr. 1814	
	William Davis	26 Oct. 1814	
	J.-B. Phil. Stutzer	27 Oct. 1814	

¹ C. F. Bosset, of Neuchâtel, became Governor of the Ionian Islands and distinguished himself as such by his important archaeological excavations in Cephalonia and Ithaca.

ROLL'S REGIMENT—*continued*

Rank	Name	Rank in the	
		Regiment	Army
Ensign	-Meyer	11 Apr. 1811	Lieut. 4 Nov. 1807
	Xavier Schmid	9 Dec. 1812	
	Charles Gingsins	10 Dec. 1812	
	Patrice Schmid	11 Dec. 1812	
	John O'Gorman	29 Apr. 1813	
	Alexandre Louis Routh	30 Sept. 1813	
	Joh. Henniker	9 Dec. 1813	
	George Geroneci	28 Apr. 1814	
Chaplain	William McDonald	1 July 1812	
Paymaster	Charles Cox	29 Jan. 1806	
Adjutant	Conrad Müller	21 Oct. 1804	
Quarter-Master	Enoch Guignard	25 Nov. 1801	
Surgeon	J. A. Romheld	22 Dec. 1804	
Assistant-Surgeon	Wilhelm Heyn	22 Dec. 1804	
	Frederick Herring	3 July 1806	

Roll's Regiment played an important part in the Egyptian campaign of 1801.

"The French, who were left in Egypt by their great commander, Bonaparte, who had returned to France in 1799 to effect a dissolution of the Government, had almost reestablished their influence, so shattered by Nelson's brilliant victory of Aboukir in 1778, in that country, when it was found necessary by Great Britain to send an army to expel them. On the 21st March, 1801, the French were completely defeated by the British at the battle of Alexandria, on which occasion the gallant Sir Ralph Abercromby was slain."

A medal issued by the Sublime Porte for the distinguished services of the British Army in Egypt was conferred upon the commander-in-chief and superior officers, in which honour the Swiss officers participated.

Louis de Roll, of Soleure, ex-officer of the Swiss Guard of Louis XVI, was entrusted in 1794 with the organizing of a Swiss regiment. His representative in the Egyptian campaign was Lieut.-Colonel Jost Dürler, of Lucerne, who died in Alexandria in September 1802.

Roll's regiment was kept in Sicily until 1812 to protect King Ferdinand IV, expelled from Naples by Murat.

DE MEURON'S REGIMENT

Facings light blue; lace silver.

Rank	Name	Rank in the	
		Regiment	Army
Colonel	Geo. Townsend Walker	24 Oct. 1812	M.-Gen. 4 June 1811 4 June 1813
Lieut.-Colonel	Meuron Bayard	17 June 1813	
Major	C. E. de May Dugisdorff	17 June 1813	
	Thomas Fane	8 Dec. 1814	
Captain	Abraham Lewis Peters	19 Feb. 1808	
	Frédéric Matthey	25 Apr. 1808	
	Jean Pierre Sam. Fauche	26 Apr. 1808	
	Rod. Amédée de May	28 Feb. 1810	

DE MEURON'S REGIMENT—*continued*

Rank	Name	Rank in the	
		Regiment	Army
Captain	Charles de Rham	1 Mar. 1810	Major 4 June 1814
	Nicholas Fuchs	21 Mar. 1811	
	P. D'Ordet Dorsonnens	14 May 1812	
	Franc. Louis Bourgeois	17 June 1813	
	Guillaume Bock	2 Sept. 1813	Lieut.-Col. 1 Jan. 1812
	George, <i>Viscount</i> Forbes	6 Oct. 1814	
Lieutenant	Jean Pierre Lardy	25 Apr. 1808	Severely wounded at the siege of Seringapatam
	Fred. Henri Perret	26 Apr. 1808	
	Ch. J. Zehnpfennig	9 Mar. 1809	1 Sept. 1806 10 Sept. 1806
	François de Graffenried	1 Mar. 1810	
	Jean Witmer	5 Apr. 1810	
	C. Fred. Lardy	27 Sept. 1810	
	Fred. de Bibra	25 Apr. 1811	
	Jean Theo. de Mezany	26 Apr. 1811	
	Nic. Théo. de Gumoens	27 Apr. 1811	
	Charles de Gumoens	28 Apr. 1811	
	Ant. Fred. de Graffenried	30 Apr. 1811	
	A. N. J. D. de Montenach	2 May 1811	
	William Robins	19 May 1812	1 June 1812
	Stanislaus Schultz	20 May 1812	
	Jean Dombré	21 May 1812	
	Jaspard Adolphe Fauche	29 Oct. 1812	
	Auguste de Loriol	28 Sept. 1814	
	Charles César de Meuron	28 Sept. 1814	
	St. Andrew St. John	29 Sept. 1814	
	Louis Simoneau	27 Oct. 1814	
Ensign	Louis Bauty	19 May 1811	
	Carl von Kapherr	11 Aug. 1814	
	Gaetano d'Angelo	6 Oct. 1814	
	Jules César Saum	7 Dec. 1814	
	Will. Herschel Griesbach	8 Dec. 1814	
Chaplain	—	—	—
Paymaster	Lawrence Castle	26 Jan. 1807	Lieut. 20 May 1812
Adjutant	Stanislaus Schultz	27 Aug. 1812	
Quarter-Master	Jacques Louis Vaucher	2 May 1811	
Surgeon	James Shoreland	14 July 1814	
Assistant-Surgeon	L. A. Winter	1 Sept. 1803	

De Meuron's regiment was the oldest of the three Anglo-Swiss regiments. It was first raised for the Dutch East India Company in 1781 by Col. Charles Daniel de Meuron. In 1786 it passed into the service of the English East India Company. In 1797, under Col. Henri David de Meuron, it entered in campaign in the Mysore War. Capt. (later Col.) de Meuron-Bayard and Lieut. Charles de Meuron-Tribolet have left detailed descriptions of that expedition. The siege of Seringapatam in 1799 detained the British for a long time. The Swiss regiment played a very active part in the siege. Under the eyes of Wellesley (later the Duke of Wellington) Lieut. de Meuron was first in the breach. De Meuron remained in India until 1806, and was then sent

to Gibraltar, Sicily, Malta, and Guernsey. In 1813 he embarked for Canada, where he took part in the war against the United States. He distinguished himself at the battle of Plattsburg, and in September 1817 in the expedition of the Red River.



The Seringapatam Medal.

The corps returned to Quebec in 1816, and met there the de Watteville regiment. Both were disbanded within a few months.

WATTEVILLE'S REGIMENT

(Permitted to inscribe on their Colours and Appointments the word MAIDA in commemoration of the action of 4 July 1806.)

Facings black; lace silver.

Rank	Name	Rank in the	
		Regiment	Army
Colonel	Louis de Watteville	7 May 1812	M.-Gen. 4 June 1813
Lieut.-Colonel	Victor Fischer	7 Mar. 1811	Col. 4 June 1814
	Rodolphe de May	21 May 1812	
Major	Valentine Winter	7 Mar. 1811	Major 4 June 1813 Major 4 June 1814
	Charles de Villatte	21 May 1812	
Captain	Amand de Courten	1 May 1801	
	Rodolphe de Bersey	23 July 1808	
	Pancrace Legendre	9 July 1806	
	Frederick Zehender	10 July 1806	
	Ferdinand Hecken	13 Nov. 1806	
	Frederick Kirchberger	22 Mar. 1810	
	Charles Zehender	25 Mar. 1811	
	Louis Ployard	29 Aug. 1811	
	Rodolphe Steiger	21 May 1812	
	Charles Sturler	31 Dec. 1812	
	Ulrich Mittelholzer	21 Oct. 1813	
	J. Christian Weise	25 Aug. 1814	

WATTEVILLE'S REGIMENT—continued

Rank	Name	Rank in the	
		Regiment	Army
Lieutenant	Louis Rendt	19 Feb. 1807	Adjutant 23 Jan. 1804
	Louis Pillichody	4 Mar. 1807	
	Louis de Gingins	5 May 1807	
	Albert de Steiger	6 May 1807	
	César Aug. Chambeaux	7 May 1807	
	Joseph Mermet	27 Jan. 1808	
	Ludwig Hausdorff	18 May 1809	
	Albrecht Manuel	5 Sept. 1810	
	Charles Louis Sturler	6 Sept. 1810	
	Charles Thorman	25 Mar. 1811	
	Frédéric Fischer	26 Mar. 1811	
	Rodolphe Steiger	28 Mar. 1811	
	Francis Dicenta	28 Aug. 1811	
	R. de Bersi	29 Aug. 1811	
	Samuel de la Pierre	21 May 1812	
	François Rigaud	30 Dec. 1812	
	Joseph Pélican	31 Dec. 1812	
	Rodolphe de Watteville	22 Feb. 1814	
	Charles May	23 Feb. 1814	
	Ferdinand Hicken	24 Feb. 1814	
	Frédéric de Watteville	4 Aug. 1814	
Ensign	Auguste de Lorient	8 Oct. 1812	
	Albert Blondeli	5 Aug. 1813	
	Josué Harman	5 Oct. 1813	
	Constantin Fischer	25 Jan. 1814	
	Paul Fischer	26 Jan. 1814	
	Albert Fischer	27 Jan. 1814	
	Charles de Tschärner	24 Feb. 1814	
	Charles de Moulin	28 Apr. 1814	
	Albert de Bonstetten	3 Aug. 1814	
	Friedrich Zehender	20 Oct. 1814	
Chaplain	P. Jacques de la Mothe	23 Apr. 1812	Lieut. 27 Jan. 1808
Paymaster	Chs. Thos. Smeathman	1 May 1801	
Adjutant	Joseph Mermet	22 Jan. 1807	
Quarter-Master	Ernst Bellman	29 Sept. 1814	
Surgeon	Christophe Millett	1 May 1801	
Assistant-Surgeon	Jean Baptiste Boidin	1 May 1801	

"The De Watteville Regiment was a British Regiment, raised in Switzerland, by Louis de Watteville in 1797 for service as a foreign corps of the British Army.

"It figured in the British Army list as such (1815), and ranked after the King's German legion and the Regiment of Brunswick-Oels. It wore the normal uniform of the infantry of the line, i.e. scarlet, but with black facings: the buttons were inscribed 'WATTEVILLE'S REGIMENT, MAIDA', with the Royal cypher G.R. III in the centre.

"The Regiment had distinguished itself at Maida in 1806, where it gained that battle honour, while its Colonel, Louis de Watteville (later Major-General) was awarded the very rare gold medal. Louis was for a time acting Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Upper Canada." (H. de Watteville (Lt.-Col., late R.A.), communication to the daily press, 2 July 1936.)

Tancred's short account of the Battle of Maida is sufficient for our purpose:

"The inhabitants of Sicily were well affected to the British, but were distrustful

of them as allies. One English regiment held Messina, and a French force under General Reynier had occupied the south of Calabria with the avowed purpose of driving the British out of the island. Sir John Stuart had succeeded Sir James Craig in the command of the troops in Sicily. The French columns which had been previously detached through Calabria were now united, and the French general felt sure that from his superior numbers he had nothing to fear from a collision with the British. Stuart determined to fight at all hazards, and trusted to the bravery of his troops to make up for his deficiency in men. The action commenced at 9 a.m. on the 4th of July, 1806, in Calabria, near to Maida. It was a thorough soldiers' battle from beginning to end. After firing a few volleys without any manœuvring on either side, Colonel Kemp's brigade (consisting of the light battalion, the Regiment of Louis de Watteville, and 150 picked men of the 35th or Royal Sussex Regiment, under Major Robinson) advanced with the bayonet to meet the enemy; it is said that bayonets were crossed on this occasion. The firmness and self-reliance of the British carried the day; the French line was seen to waver for a moment, and soon afterwards retreated in disorder. Acland's brigade now became hotly engaged with the main body, under Reynier, who endeavoured to turn the British left. At this crisis Colonel Ross with the 20th Regiment arrived on the scene of action, and helped materially to bring it to a successful termination." (G. Tancred, *Historical Record of Medals and Honorary Distinctions*, 1891.)

A gold medal was issued to commemorate the event, and was presented to the general, commanders of brigades and battalions, &c.



The Maida Medal. The de Watteville Regiment was allowed to have the word MAIDA on their flags. It suffered greatly at Waterloo.

There were only thirteen recipients, among whom was Louis de Watteville, Lieut.-Colonel, commander of the Regiment de Watteville.

"At the marriage of Monsieur Vincent Paravicini, son of the Swiss Minister, 20th July 1936, page boys wearing military red tail coats, white trousers, and high plumed hats, were a striking feature. The uniform was copied from that of the officers of the Swiss Regiment de Watteville, and is a tribute to the great-great-grandfather of M. Vincent Paravicini, who commanded the regiment in a number of British campaigns during the reign of George III." (*Swiss Observer*, July 1936.)

The above notes may prove of some interest to British readers, although they only touch the fringe of the subject of Swiss mercenary service.

Some Swiss officers distinguished themselves in the British campaigns in India and America. Among these were Bouquet, Haldimand, Polier, the three brothers Prévost, and Daniel Frischmann, of Basle (1728-1808), a colonel in the service of the East India Company

(1763-7). The Fort of Oswego was successfully defended in 1759 by Colonel Frédéric Haldimand, of Yverdon, against the French. As Colonel of the Royal American Regiment he fought at the siege of Montreal and battle of Quebec, where he was promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General. In 1776 he was made Lieutenant-General and Governor of Canada (1780).

Augustin Prévost, of Geneva, forced Admiral d'Estaing and General Lincoln to raise the siege of Savannah (Georgia) in 1779, and died with the rank of Lieutenant-General in 1786.

Henri Bouquet distinguished himself in the war against the Red Indians. His victory at Fort Pitt won for him a vote of thanks of the Assembly of Pennsylvania and from the King of England the rank of Brigadier-General and Governor of the Southern States. Under him were Captains Steiner of Zurich, Vulliamoz of Lausanne, Dufez and Burnand of Moudon, Jean, Augustin, and Marc Prévost of Geneva.

Ferdinand de Rovéréa, of Vevey, commander of the "faithful legion", was a colonel in English service.

In the Crimean War England organized a Swiss-British legion of two regiments which was transported to Smyrna and disbanded in 1856 without having fought.

It is most difficult to obtain information on the services of Swiss officers in British pay from the War Office. Very few officers of the British Army, except those of high rank, received orders or decorations in the early periods. After Waterloo the Order of the Bath was divided into various grades and then a certain number of senior officers received one of the grades of this Order; the same as regards the Order of Hanover. The Peninsula War medal was not issued until Queen Victoria's reign.

The most complete work on the subject of Swiss service in foreign lands, from which much of my information is culled, is that of Capitaine de Vallière, *Honneur et Fidélité. Histoire des Suisses au service étranger*, with a preface by the late General U. Wille, Neuchâtel, n.d., quarto, 731 pp., with many plates and illustrations.

Numerous portraits of officers who distinguished themselves in the service of the various countries are given in Captain de Vallière's book, also illustrations of medals struck in their honour and others commemorating military alliances with the Swiss, battle scenes, &c. I shall only mention a few connected with England:

Maréchal Antoine de Salis-Marschling (1782-1813); served under Wellington in Sicily (p. 9).

Cardinal Matthew Schinner, who came to London to negotiate with Henry VIII (p. 123).

Jean-Felix Werdmüller, of Zurich, Major-General in the service of Holland and England (p. 317).

François Louis de Pesmes de Saint-Saphorin (1668-1737); Lieut.-General in the service of England, later British Ambassador in Vienna (p. 344).

Daniel Frischmann, of Basle (1728-1808); Colonel in the service of the East India Company (1763-7) (p. 427).

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Colonel Frédéric Haldimand, of Yverdon, defender of the Fort of Oswego, 1759; George III made him Governor of Canada, 1780.

Lieut.-Colonel Henri Bouquet, of Rolle, of the regiment Royal American; victor of Fort Pitt; promoted by George III to the rank of Brigadier-General; the Assembly of Pennsylvania voted to him an address of congratulations (p. 432).

Xavier Rodolphe Dürler, of Lucerne (1745-1802); died in the service of England at Alexandria (Egypt) (p. 505).

Ferdinand de Rovérea, of Vevèy (1763-1829); Colonel of a Swiss regiment in the pay of England (p. 530).

Nicolas François de Bachmann-Anderletz, of Naefels (Glaris), Inspector-General of Swiss troops in the service of England in Sicily; later General of the Army of the Swiss Confederation, 1815 (p. 531).

Major-General Charles Louis de Watteville-Rübigen, of Bern (1776-1836); Governor of Upper Canada.



The Ceylon Medal.

Lieut.-General Charles Daniel de Meuron, of Neuchâtel (1738-1806); Commander of the de Meuron regiment in the service of England (p. 538).

Colonel Henri David de Meuron; Capt. Meuron-Bayard; Lieut. Charles de Meuron-Tribolet; with their regiment were first in the breach at the Siege of Seringapatam, under the eyes of Generals George Harris and Wellesley (Wellington). In 1806 de Meuron was sent to Gibraltar, Sicily, Malta, and Guernsey; in 1813 he went to Canada, and took part in the war against the United States, and distinguished himself at the battle of Plattsburg (p. 539).

Pierre Frédéric de Meuron, of Neuchâtel (1747-1813); Lieut.-General in the service of England; Governor of Ceylon (p. 539).

Pierre Lardy, of Neuchâtel (1757-1818); Colonel in English service (p. 540).

Charles Philippe de Bosset, of Neuchâtel (1773-1805); Lieut.-Colonel in the service of England, Governor of the Ionian Islands.

Many other names might be mentioned which Captain de Vallières quotes, giving an account of their services, but it would make this paper too lengthy.

MISCELLANEA

THE "WEYMOUTH" AND "SALISBURY" MINTS OF CHARLES I: AN OMISSION RECTIFIED

IN 1938 the *British Numismatic Journal* accepted an article which I had written on the above subject (vol. xxiii, pp. 97-118). I do not now know why I omitted from it a coin in the British Museum which certainly should have been included. This coin, which Kenyon attributed hesitantly to Weymouth, has long been known. There are other additions and corrections which might be made to my original article, but, so far as I know, this is the only important omission. The coin, illustrated below, is a gold Unite and may be described as follows:



Obverse. Mint mark: Fleur-de-lis?

Legend: CAROLVS : D : G : MA : BR : FR : ET : HIB : REX :

Type: Bust of king in armour to left, wearing the George.
Hair falls on shoulder in a twisted lock. No studs on armour. o|o|o|o on crown band.

Reverse: No mint mark.

Legend: FLORENT : CONCORDIA : REGNA : C.R. crowned.

Type: Round shield surrounded by scrolls and 8 ornaments. Lis-headed harp. o|o|o|o on crown band, which does not overlap shield.

Both dies belong as unmistakably to the series linked with the :SA: half-crown as do those of the Unite described in the original publication to the series associated with Weymouth. The obverse is similar to Shilling die C while the reverse is similar to Half-crown die 42. Both series thus include a Unite, as indeed might well have been expected.

D. F. ALLEN.

A NEW COIN OF HENRY OF ANJOU

[This paper, in a slightly longer form, has been included in an unpublished complimentary booklet dedicated to Dr. Willy Schwabacher in 1947.]



THE coin illustrated above was discovered by the late Dr. G. C. Brooke and acquired by the British Museum in 1928 from a Miss W. Marsden. No other details of its origin are recorded. It may be described as follows:

Obv. Bust of warrior to right, showing collar of tunic and right arm; right hand holds sceptre in front of face; crown surmounted by two arches but without fleurs-de-lis. Beaded circle; legend *HENRICVS*.

Rev. Cross crosslets, with small cross superimposed diagonally at centre, contained in a tressure of four arches; a group of four pellets in each spandril. Beaded circle; legend *+ W-LE? - - ON: GLOE-*.

Weight. 14.8 grains.

The coin is certainly of baronial origin; weight and fabric both differ from those of coins struck by Stephen's official moneyers with dies made from official irons. Neither obverse nor reverse are copied exactly from regular English coins, but the obverse is not unlike Stephen's first type. It differs in having the crown, if that is the right description, decorated with simple pellets in place of the royal fleurs-de-lis, and in the form of the arches. The reverse is quite original; it may owe something to the second type of William II; it certainly owes something to the ninth type of Henry I, but it is not copied from either. In general character it anticipates the "Tealby" coinage of 1158.

There can be no doubt in whose name the coin was issued. Struck at Gloucester in the heart of the Angevin territory, its legend can only refer to Henry of Anjou, on whose behalf after 1142 Matilda and her supporters claimed the throne.

Gloucester is in fact one of the principal places from which we should expect to find coins of Henry, but none have hitherto been known. Coins of *B.M.C.*¹ types I (a) and (b) are recorded at the mint of Hereford (moneyers Willelm and Wicric), and at mints usually but unconvincingly identified as Malmesbury (moneyer Waltier?), and

¹ *Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum, Norman Kings*, G. C. Brooke.

Devizes. Coins of *B.M.C.* type I (c) are only recorded from one legible mint, indicated by the letters **CRST**, usually interpreted as Cirencester (moneyer Willem). Coins of *B.M.C.* types II (a) and (b) were struck at Bristol (moneyer Arefin), at a mint usually interpreted as Wiveliscombe but far more likely to be Ilchester (moneyer Adam), and at one which has been interpreted as Sherborne. It has been usual to try to arrange the series in chronological order of types, but at present no single mint is known to have struck more than one type, and it is at least as probable that the difference between the types is one of locality and not of time. Indeed, the discovery of a completely new type which has little in common with those already known from a mint not previously recorded in the series points strongly in this direction. A sequence of types from a semi-official mint or mints, as we should perhaps treat those of the Angevin party, implies a degree of organization which is foreign to the times.

The possible limits of date for the issue for this and other coins of Henry are not very wide; it is hopeless to seek an exact place within them. The coins cannot have been struck before 1142, when the crown was first claimed for Henry; they can hardly have been struck after 1153, since it was one of the terms of the Treaty of Wallingford that there should be only one coinage throughout the realm. Stephen did nothing to put this agreement into effect, but after 1153 we must surely exclude unofficial coinage in Henry's name. Within these limits we have no means of knowing when the coins were struck. Although Henry himself was not continuously in England, Gloucester was continuously in the hands of his party.

If it could be established that the parallel series of coins bearing the name of Willelm or Willelm Dux, now usually attributed to William of Gloucester, either preceded or succeeded those of Henry, a slight modification of these limits might be possible. In one case certainly, and perhaps in two, the Willelm coins come from the same mints as those of Henry. The attribution to William of Gloucester has little to recommend it except the presumption that the coins must have been copied from those of Henry and therefore be later. If we can dispense with the theory of a sequence of types, there seems no reason why we should not attribute the series to William de Mohun, Earl of Dorset and Somerset, at one time the most prominent William on the Angevin side, who deserted the Empress in 1143. The Winterslow Hoard, from which one coin of William and six of Henry are recorded in a context where the latest regular coin of Stephen is of his second type, implies a relatively early date for the series. Although it is not the purpose of this paper to enlarge on this issue, it is not impossible that the Willelm coins precede those of Henry.

The moneyer's name on the new coin, which should probably be restored as Willelm or Willem (rather than as Wibert), has not hitherto been recorded at the mint of Gloucester. There are regular coins of Stephen from this mint, struck, as in the case of other mints in parts of the country held by the Angevins, in type I before the

troubles started and in the last type after a peace had been patched up. The moneyers known up to the present in the first type are Alfwine, Gillebert, and Wibert or Wiberd, and in the last type Raulf. A complete change of moneyers would not be surprising; at this date the office was not held by craftsmen but by leading citizens as a source of profit. It would be natural that with a change of master some supporter of the new régime would be rewarded. Mr. F. Elmore Jones has, however, recently re-read one of the coins in the British Museum of the last type (no. 193), previously read as Ralf, and considers that it in fact reads PILLEM. He himself has another coin probably of the same moneyer. It seems therefore that the moneyer appointed to issue coins in Henry's name was retained in office by Stephen when he recovered the town. I have not traced any mention of this moneyer's name in manuscript records.

This coin, which appears to have been overlooked up till now, is a welcome addition to a very rare series. D. F. ALLEN.

AN UNPUBLISHED "MULE" OF STEPHEN

MULES of Stephen are so excessively rare that the discovery of an unnoticed one in the British Museum from its illustration in *Norman Kings* may perhaps be described as remarkable.

Whilst looking at the coins of Stephen's last type figured on Pl. LV with particular reference to no. 6 (the BRAN... coin) I was struck by the unusual style of the obverse portrait of no. 8, a Canterbury coin by the moneyer RODBERT; provenance, the Awbridge find, 1903.

The explanation of the peculiarity of style of the obverse is that this coin is in fact a mule of type II/type VII. There is a very general similarity in both the obverse and reverse designs of the two types and it is possible that other unsuspected mules of the two types may exist.

The only mule coin of Stephen's known to Brooke when preparing *Norman Kings* was the mule type I/type II illustrated on Pl. LIII, nos. 1 and 2, and referred to on p. 41 of the Introduction. Both specimens (one a penny and one a cut halfpenny) are from the same dies, and neither is (or was in 1916) in the Museum. The penny came from the Sheldon find which also contained another halfpenny of the same mule which Brooke thought was probably from the same dies as the other two known specimens. Since then a second Stephen mule has come to light, viz. the Henry I last type/Stephen first type mule which was in the South Kyme, Lincs., find, 1922, and is now in the British Museum. My safest course is, I think, simply to draw attention to this third mule and not to attempt any surmise as to whether its discovery affects the *B.M.C.* sequence of types. I feel tempted, however, to draw attention to the peculiar lettering and spelling on the reverse of the types I/II mule, and to suggest that this coin might conceivably be a contemporary forgery—Brooke states that there

were apparently two contemporary forgeries of type II coins in the Sheldon find, which seems significant.

As to the Canterbury coin (the II/VII mule) there can be no doubt that this mule is genuine. The position of types I and VII cannot be altered, but the excessively rare types III, IV, V, and VI, if indeed all are in fact substantive types, might easily be the subject of possible rearrangement as to sequence. Against altering the position of type II the epigraphical evidence and that of the Linton find (which, however, seems to have been the only find of type II coins in any number, namely, 40 coins) is definitely in favour of its being correctly placed.

The problem of the sequence of types II to VI is therefore very perplexing in the light of this discovery of a II/VII mule. I fear it is one which cannot be taken further in the light of present knowledge.

F. ELMORE JONES.

REVIEWS

Newton at the Mint. By SIR JOHN CRAIG, Deputy Master of the Mint. Cambridge University Press, 1946. Price 7s. 6d. 128 pp., with index.

NUMISMATISTS will welcome this attractive book. Newton came to the Mint, as Warden, in 1696, and Master in 1699; he remained there until his death, at the age of 85, in 1727, and we have here a picture of the working and administration of the Mint from the Great Recoinage to the end of George I's reign. Among many other things we are told that the recoinage, which was already in progress and not primarily Newton's work, was a partial cause of the shortage of silver during the next hundred years, since one of its effects was "to fit the silver circulation for export and set a relation between bullion and coin which cut off all normal flow to the Mint"; and we read in 1730 that since 1701 "no silver had been imported to the Mint but what was forced thither". Newton in fact presided over the revolution in our currency whereby the silver standard, "in all men's minds the only true money", was replaced by gold. Newton apparently did, and probably could do, nothing to stem the revolution; indeed there seemed no reason why he should do anything. He was, however, a "good bureaucrat", industrious and able himself, a stickler for clear and exact records, and an efficient guardian of his charge against knavish or hare-brained schemes to achieve miracles. Not the least of his cares was the dearth of copper coinage. Nothing much, however, was achieved; experiments were made in 1714, but apparently, and contrary to our present belief, "Queen Anne's farthings were strays from these experiments". The author adds categorically, "No copper coin was issued in England under Anne." So the famous farthings, it would seem, should all be called patterns.

Newton as a mathematician and a scientist we know; he is less familiar as a theologian. His Protestantism is echoed in the revival of the title "Defender of the Faith" on the coinage of George I, a sigh of popular relief, as it were, that Queen Anne had not been succeeded by her brother, a Roman Catholic. Students of the mill coinage and of medals in particular will find much to interest them, details of the Edinburgh recoinage in 1707, or of Newton's own drawings for the Vigo medal; few will fail to derive both profit and pleasure from this lively and intimate picture of the Mint in King William's day, and of a great man at his daily task.

C. A. W.

Camulodunum—First Report on the Excavations at Colchester 1930-9. "The Coins", pp. 129-67 and pls. 4. By C. F. C. HAWKES, M.A., F.S.A., and M. R. HULL, M.A., F.S.A. 1947.

Seldom in British archaeology have the coins become such a focal point of interest as at Colchester. As the authors remark, this was

largely due to the location in the area of Cunobelin's mint. The finding of multiple clay moulds for casting the flans and other traces of a mint workshop destroyed in the first period of Roman occupation greatly heightens this interest. But the archaeologist and the historian may share it with the numismatist, for coins have the properties both of written history and archaeological finds, particularly valuable at this period of transition from Belgic to Roman Britain. The report on the coins therefore falls naturally into three main sections, in all of which the archaeological interpretation has been kept well to the fore.

In the first section the evidence is discussed for placing Cunobelin's mint in the south-west part of region 6 of the excavation map, where not only clay moulds (pl. xvi) were discovered, but a few of the bronze flans cast in them as well as broken crucibles, burnt earth, sand, and slag, all pointing to a coining industry which had been deliberately wrecked within a short time after the Roman Conquest.

The second section is devoted to the pre-Roman coins (pls. xvii-xviii), on which very full notes were provided by Mr. D. F. Allen. The great majority of these coins belong to the reign of Cunobelin himself, no less than six new types being recorded. Brigantian, Icenian, and earlier Belgic coins were also represented, providing at least another five new types. Only three Gaulish coins, all of the same Æ type (de la Tour no. 9248), were found, and these were post-Roman conquest.

The third section, on coins of the Roman period, is written by Dr. C. H. V. Sutherland (pl. xix). Here the principal interest lies in the local copies of official Roman issues, which the Britons evidently lost no time in making. This is a new study, which owes a great deal to Dr. Sutherland's past work. Even General Pitt-Rivers, when recording in the fourth volume of his *Excavations* (p. 240) the contents of a Romano-British pit at Rushmore, did not mention that the two Claudian coins which he found were, in fact, British copies of an *as* of Antonia. Both were of the type illustrated in this report (pl. xix, 2 and 3). Dr. Sutherland argues convincingly that these imitations formed an official or semi-official currency necessitated by increasing pay-rolls and population and a lack of cash—the nearest imperial mint was at Lugdunum in southern Gaul.

It is to be hoped that a promised second report will not be long in appearing, for the coins already in the collection of the Castle Museum, Colchester, deserve careful study and publication, and the excellent plates in this report should be greatly increased. Within a predictable period it should be possible to place typologically any coin in the pre-Roman series, a goal approached by Mr. Allen in his paper "The Belgic Dynasties of Britain and their Coins" (*Archaeologia*, vol. xc). The coin illustrated on pl. xvii, no. 3, shows on the obverse a boar which developed from the head on the coin of Evans, pl. xvi, 7, while the horse on the reverse is surely the prototype of the zigzag line which appears on base silver coins of the Durotriges (Evans, pl. M, 13,

14), some semblance of the boar on the obverse being retained. Further evidence on the prototypes of the 'Chute' coins (*Num. Chron.* Ser. 5, vol. vii) may be found in part of a hoard of staters found at Great Clacton in 1898, and now in the Colchester Museum. There is good evidence to show that the balance of this hoard was in Sir Arthur Evans's collection. It was published by Sir George Hill (*Num. Chron.* Ser. 4, vol. xix) as being of unknown provenance.

Professor Hawkes and his collaborators have made an important contribution not only to British numismatics but also to the first chapter in our history. Happily we are told that this is only a first report. The next instalment will be more than welcome.

H. DE S. S.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY 1946-7

(For list of past Presidents and Medallists see p. 80; for Officers and Council for 1946-7, see p. 99.)

ORDINARY MEETING

22 JANUARY 1947

MR. C. E. BLUNT, *President, in the Chair*

The following were nominated for election to membership of the Society:

M. Luben A. Basmadjieff, Postfach Fraumunster, 1071, Zürich, Switzerland.

Mr. Brian H. Grover, 17 Fortismere Avenue, Muswell Hill, London, N. 10.

Mr. Charles Hay, 140 King's Cross Road, W.C. 1.

Commander R. G. Liveing, R.N., Wester House, The Avenue, Alverstoke, Hants.

The University Library of Reading.

Mr. Rudolph Forrer, of Messrs. Spink & Son, Ltd.

The resignation was reported of Mr. W. J. Potter, 30 Esmond Road, London, W. 4.

Mr. C. W. Peck was elected a Member of the Society.

The Council decided to suspend immediately, until further notice, the rule allowing the compounding of the annual subscription on a payment of £15.

Exhibitions

The PRESIDENT exhibited for MR. W. G. WALLACE:

1. A Denier of James I of Aragon, 1213-76, with a reverse type comparable to the Edward I penny, and reading: *obv.* + BARCINO: *rev.* IACOB REX:
2. A medal by B. Wyon awarded to James Tillyer Blunt, nineteenth century, City of London School (?).
3. A Shire Horse Society Medal by Mappin and Webb, with the hallmark of 1886.

MR. H. LINECAR exhibited a quarter-rider of James IV of Scotland found in 1946 near Selkirk during the digging of the foundation of a house: *obv.* JACOBVS DEI GRA REX SCOTORV, *rev.* SALVVM FAC POPVLVM TVVM DOMIN.

THE SECRETARY exhibited a cupro-nickel set for 1947 from 2s. 6d. to 6d. and a similar set of 1946 of 50 per cent. silver.

To illustrate the paper Mr. Albert Baldwin exhibited for MR. FRED BALDWIN the following Tealby coins:

1. Penny, class A, + GO(L)DMAVOE ON EA(N), Canterbury.
2. Penny, class C, + IOHAN ON (LVN)D, struck as a square flan.
3. Penny, class C, (+ TAN) EARD:ON:BR .. (Bristol), a rare mint.
4. A cut halfpenny.

THE TREASURER exhibited six Tealby pennies:

1. Class A, +AN (?) .. :ON:BE...E, (?) Bedford.
2. „ „ (+ P(ARI)N ON SAL)OP(ES), Shrewsbury.
3. „ „ + WILLEM: ON SC:ED, Bury St. Edmunds.
4. „ „ + FVLE(HE:O)N:VALLI, Wallingford.
5. Class C, + WILLEM: ON: NIV, Newcastle.
6. Class B (variety) (+ WALTIER: ON: NORHAM), with inner circle.

Paper

MR. DEREK ALLEN read a paper entitled "The Tealby Coinage of Henry II; how was it organized and financed?" There was, he said, little documentary evidence about English coins before 1158, and he gave a summary of the numismatic evidence in the Pipe Rolls from the beginning of the Tealby coinage until 1180. This included many of the mints known from the coins and some not so known. He also showed, quoting the chronicle of William Thorne, that up to 1161 the Abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, was entitled to one die, and that the moneyer between 1158 and 1161 could be identified as Alferg. The Crown made a profit from coining (1) by a town paying a regular fee for having a moneyer as part of its form; (2) by charging that moneyer sums on taking up or laying down office, or for detaining dies; (3) by directly taxing him, and by collecting fines (up to £250 were recorded) imposed on moneyers for coining or other offences.

The royal income was reduced by the introduction of a single coinage in 1158. The right to exchange, as well as to strike, money was restricted to the moneyers, but it is not known how they were controlled or to whom responsible. The Pipe Rolls showed that as the reign went on the Crown drew less and less profit, so that in 1180 a new coinage became necessary, partly to increase the Crown revenues. This reform, which virtually completed the abolishment of the ecclesiastical mints, was a reform not so much of the coinage as of the administration. It included the institution of the *Cambium* or Exchange set up by Philip Aimer of Tours, the chief *Cambitor regis*, or King's Exchange, brought over for the purpose. The function of the Cambia was to exchange new coins for old, a profitable transaction for the Crown. After 1180 the Crown supplied bullion to the Cambia so that new coins could be immediately issued. The change from the Tealby to the Short Cross issue was carried out under sixteen salaried *Cambitores*, coming mostly from

Normandy. Before 1180 several moneyers might be working in one town, each in his own house. After the reform of 1180 they apparently worked in a single mint building, controlled by a superior officer of whom Philip Aimer is the first definite example.

The period, said Mr. Allen in conclusion, was interesting as marking the transition from the Norman to the Medieval conception of money in England.

The President, summing up, asked how did Henry II supplement his revenue in the face of the decrease in coining? He pointed out that the king succeeded in suppressing the feudal and baronial mints. He congratulated Mr. Allen on establishing the existence of coins of the Abbot of St. Augustine's at Canterbury. His valuable paper would eventually be published as an introduction to the British Museum catalogue of this coinage.

ORDINARY MEETING

26 FEBRUARY 1947

MR. C. E. BLUNT, *President, in the Chair*

The resignation was announced of Mr. T. W. Allis, of Newark.

The following were nominated to membership of the Society:

Mr. Harold Mattingly of the British Museum.

Mr. D. G. Liddell of the staff of Messrs. Spink & Son, Ltd.

The following were elected Members of the Society: M. Luben A. Basmadjieff, Mr. C. Hay, Mr. B. H. Grover, Commander R. G. Liveing, Mr. R. Forrer, and the University Library of Reading.

The evening was devoted to exhibitions.

Exhibitions

By MR. L. S. FORRER:

1. Henry VII testoon, i.m. Lis, reading *Henricus*.
2. Low Countries, Campen 1586 piedfort of a gold sovereign of the weight of 5 sovereigns, wt. 941 grs.; unique (cf. the unique sovereign in V. d. Chijs, Pl. XIV, 3).
3. Charles I, Oxford £3 piece, 1644, OXON below with Declaration in a continuous scroll.

By MR. D. MANGAKIS: Four Tealby pennies:

1. Brooke, B(*d*), Ipswich, square flan, ROB(ERT:) ON: GIP.
2. „ B, York, square flan, (HERBER)D: ON: EVE.
3. „ C, Bristol, (EI)LOF: ON: BR(·); this penny was referred to in Mr. Allen's paper.
4. Brooke, C, Ipswich, square flan, (NI)COLE: ON: GIPE.

By MR. HOWARD LINECAR:

1. South Africa silver crown 1947 to commemorate the royal visit.
2. Eustace Fitzjohn penny, type A, of the "full figure" type, and extremely rare. The coin resembles no. 268 in *B.M.C.*, but

differs in detail: its interest lies in the uncertainty whether it was struck by Eustace son of Stephen, or Baron Eustace Fitzjohn, a Yorkshire magnate and lord of Knaresborough and Malton. The former was the more probable origin.

3. An unpublished seventeenth-century token in *silver*, without name of town or issuer. It resembles no. 100 in Williamson but has a wreath instead of a crown on obverse and reads *Flecti non est frangi* (to be bent is not to be broken) on the reverse. Nos. 106 to 113 in Williamson's *Uncertain Tokens* also resemble this piece but like no. 100 are copper. Williamson gives only one piece in silver. The arms on the reverse of this piece are similar to those of Featherstonhaugh of Lamm, Westmorland, and so the token may be of that county.

By THE TREASURER:

1. Penny of William II, *B.M.C.* 1; *rev.* legend altered in the die to give a false reading. The original reading was perhaps +CILD ON MERLEBR altered to resemble †LIE...ERBIR for (?) Salisbury (SERBIR).
2. Penny of William I, *B.M.C.* 8; +CILD ON MIERLIB (Marlborough); different dies from the two known coins of the mint and type in *B.M.C.*, and so probably not in the Beaworth find. This obverse die may perhaps, like the two B.M. coins, have also been used at Salisbury.
3. Harold I, *B.M.C.* 5; +H|W·V|ON|EAL, a blundered form of +HVNNΛ ON MEAL (Malmesbury). This, a duplicate of Hildebrand 133, corrects both him and Brooke who assign Hunna to Exeter from this one coin. Hildebrand gives a type I coin reading +HVNNΛ ON MELMEC but no example of type 5 by Hunna under Malmesbury. This completes the gap, for Hunna is known at Malmesbury under Cnut, Harthacnut, and Edward Confessor.

By MR. G. V. DOUBLEDAY: Coins from the Bredgar find of 1940; eight nobles and three half-nobles of Edward III, and a noble of Richard II.

By MR. O. THEOBALD: Charles I Tower 2s. 6d.'s showing variants of i.m. star (1640), type 4, and the rare type 3c (Francis, *B.N.J.* xiv); three of type 4 had i.m. to r. or to l. of sword, the latter with or without pellets; type 3c showed star and star over triangle.

By SIR JOHN HANHAM:

1. Charles II 2s. 6d., 1673, plumes (?) both sides.
2. Dorset seventeenth-century token of Lyme Regis 1653, a unique piece for the county in white metal.
3. Dorset seventeenth-century tokens of John Stuckie, Sherborne, with or without beaded circle on reverse.
4. Fiji paper money, an unpublished note for 1d.

By MR. ALBERT BALDWIN:

1. Edward I penny, Fox, *obv.* type 10 *rev.* type 9, with annulet on breast.
2. Antoninus Pius sestertius; *rev.* BRITANNIA S.C. showing Britannia seated with standard and spear.
3. Kent silver 1s. token, *circa* 1811, perhaps unique.

By MR. H. A. SEABY:

1. William III shilling of York, 1696 y, with third bust, not normally known until 1697. Probably an old reverse die used with the new obverse.
2. Henry VII sovereign, *obv.* Lis, *rev.* crosslet.
3. Henry VIII George noble.
4. Two Charles I £3 pieces of Oxford, 1642 and 1644 OXON, and an Oxford unite, 1644 OX.

By the SECRETARY:

1. An Irish groat of full face *obv.* and large rose on *rev.* reading *Ricard* over *Edward*; probably an overstrike on a coin of Edward IV, but possibly of Edward V.
2. Five York groats of Henry VIII's Wolsey coinage, showing i.m. cross voided, with and without TW, acorn, and a mule each way between cross and acorn.
3. Sixteen different Irish harp-groats of Henry VIII.

By the PRESIDENT, coins of Henry IV:

1. and 2. A light noble with the usual trefoil and annulet on the ship and the trefoil in one quarter; and a light quarter-noble with slipped trefoil and annulet by shield.
3. Three groats with Roman N in London, trefoil on breast, and annulet and pellet by crown, with ten, eight, or the normal nine arches to tressure; the last also having in legends a trefoil after *Franc* and *posui*. This nine-arch die was also used later by Henry V stamped with a mullet.
4. Half-groat; annulet and pellet by Crown and slipped trefoil on breast and after *London*. All characteristic of Henry IV.
5. Three pennies all from one obverse die with annulet and pellet by crown on one, but the pellet overstruck (by Henry V) with a mullet on the others; the first two read *London*, but the die was then sent to Durham and the third coin reads *Dunolm*.
6. A halfpenny with pellet stops but no marks in field.

Also by the PRESIDENT, coins of Henry VI's Restoration period and Edward IV:

1. An Angel i.m. Restoration Cross (*henricus*) from the St. Albans find and Evans Collection.

- 2-5. London groat, half-groat, penny (extremely fine), and the very rare halfpenny all reading *henricu* with i.m. Restoration Cross.
- 6, 7. Groats of York and Bristol (*obv.* Restoration Cross, *rev.* trefoil).
8. York penny of Neville, i.m. Lis, a very rare coin.
9. Mule groat, *obv.* cinquefoil, *rev.* pierced cross; the *rev.* i.m. is obscure, but extra pellets in two quarters prove its identity. This mule occurs also in an angel, but this is the only mule known in silver of the cinquefoil.

MR. W. T. BOSTOCK, a guest, exhibited, and described the manufacture of, a fine series of Sudanese coins of the Mahdi.

ORDINARY MEETING

26 MARCH 1947

MR. C. E. BLUNT, *President, in the Chair*

The following were nominated for membership of the Society:

Mr. L. V. W. Wright, 1 Malbrook Court, Malbrook Road, Putney, S.W. 15.

Mr. H. Schneider, 10 Place Leopold, Antwerp.

Mr. H. Mattingly and Mr. D. G. Liddell were elected Members of the Society.

The Treasurer's report was circulated and later unanimously adopted.

Exhibition

The PRESIDENT exhibited a gros of Waleran, Archbishop of Cologne 1332-49, struck under an indenture of 1342, to illustrate Mr. Allen's paper; Mr. Albert Baldwin exhibited pennies of Stephen to illustrate Mr. Elmore Jones's paper.

Papers

The Secretary read three short papers by MR. ANTHONY THOMPSON on

1. A new seventeenth-century token reading Kyes of Dunkirk on the reverse.
2. The naming of ships after English gold coins.
3. A ship of the type of Charles II which showed that the vessel on the reverse of Simon's trial angel of Charles II was the *Sovereign of the Seas*, a large warship built for Charles I and the first of the long line of a similar name down to the modern *Royal Sovereign*.

MR. DEREK ALLEN read a paper on the design of Edward III's groats and half-groats.

The TREASURER read a paper on "The Stephen Mint of BRAN, a new attribution". Mr. Elmore Jones thought this must be Bramber in Sussex. He referred to the Pipe Rolls of Henry II and their relevance to Stephen's last type, *B.M.C.* 7.

The TREASURER also read a brief note entitled "*Norman Kings*, Plate LV, no. 8" in which he drew attention to an unnoticed mule of types *B.M.C.* 2-7 of Stephen in the British Museum. He suggested it might be necessary to rearrange the sequence of the very rare Stephen types *B.M.C.* 3-6.

Some of these papers are printed in this number of the *Journal*; the remainder it is hoped to publish in the next number.

ORDINARY MEETING

23 APRIL 1947

MR. C. E. BLUNT, *President, in the Chair*

The Sandford Saltus Medal

The President handed the Sandford Saltus Medal for 1941 to Mr. Whitton and said that the presentation had inevitably been delayed by war-time difficulties. He was sure that the Members of the Society in awarding the medal had in mind Mr. Whitton's paper on "The Heavy Coinage of Henry VI", a work which Mr. Blunt felt would stand the test of time. Mr. Whitton suitably replied.

The following were nominated for membership of the Society:

Mr. W. O'Sullivan, National Museum of Ireland, Dublin.

The University Library, Birmingham.

The City Museum, Bristol.

The following were elected members of the Society: Mr. L. V. W. Wright and Mr. H. Schneider.

An advance copy of the *Journal*, Vol. XXV, Part I, was laid on the table and circulated for inspection.

Exhibitions

MR. ALBERT BALDWIN exhibited for Mr. Whitton's paper a Bristol sovereign of Henry VIII with i.m. ws both sides and Roman lettering, wt. 195 grs.

MR. C. A. WHITTON exhibited two half-groats of Henry V unknown to Brooke, one with a mullet on the shoulder, not the breast, and no annulet by the crown, and the other with mullet on the breast and again no annulet by the crown.

Paper

MR. C. A. WHITTON read a paper on "The sovereigns of Henry VIII", most helpfully illustrated by lantern-slides made by the Secretary. He said that the gold coinage of Henry VIII witnessed the accomplishment of a revolution in English currency in the final supersession of the old coin of 6s. 8d. by the new one of 20s. through its fraction of 10s. and 5s. The revolution was precipitated by the free circulation in England of foreign gold coins of the approximate value of the crown. The climax was reached about 1545 with the first large issue of half-sovereigns. As the purchasing power of money de-

creased in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the 10s. piece was gradually replaced by the 20s. piece which remained the standard gold coin till modern times. Describing the sovereigns Mr. Whitton showed how economically the elaborate sovereign dies were at first used during the first and second coinages of Henry. He also threw new light on the difficult question of the order of the initial marks of this period. Coming to the third or last coinage he showed that contrary to Brooke's view two distinct types of sovereign were struck in 1544 at 200 grains; he also called attention to the widely divergent weights of some of the Bristol sovereigns. Finally he suggested that the reorganization of the mint in 1544 was reflected in the peculiar muling of the coins of the last three years of Henry's reign.

ORDINARY MEETING

21 MAY 1947

MR. C. E. BLUNT, *President, in the Chair*

The death was recorded on May 14 at the age of 85 of Mr. J. B. Caldecott, a Foundation Member. It was decided to send a letter of condolence to the family of Mr. Caldecott.

Mr. G. Wilson Lawrence, 111 Upton Road, Bexley Heath, was nominated for membership of the Society.

The following were elected Members of the Society: Mr. W. O'Sullivan of Dublin; The University Library, Birmingham; The City Museum, Bristol.

The evening was devoted to an exhibition of the following commemorative and service medals:

By COL. M. H. GRANT: A large, elaborate medal by Pistrucci to commemorate the battle of Waterloo, and a Carnegie (?) medal for life-saving, both in bronze.

By MR. ALBERT BALDWIN, all in silver:

1. Charles II, coronation medal by T. Simon.
2. James Duke of York, Naval Action, 1665.
3. Charles II, Dominion of the Sea medal, 1665, by T. Rawlins.
4. James, Duke of York, and Mary of Modena, 1680, by Geo. Bower.
5. Elizabeth, portrait by Simon Passe, c. 1620, in an ivory and silver box.

By MR. H. HIRD:

1. Gold medal of Charles I, by N. Briot, to commemorate his return to London from his Scottish coronation, 1633. The king, mounted, bareheaded, in armour, and a baton in his right hand, faces left. The housing of the horse shows a crowned rose. Above is the Eye of Providence. The reverse shows a view of London and the letter E (for Edinburgh); wt. 384 grs.
2. The Scottish Rebellion gold medal, 1639; the obverse design

resembles that of the Truro "Truncheon" 2s. 6d. (see *B.N.J.* xxii, p. 236, Pl. III, 16).

3. A Charles I gold memorial medal, 1649, wt. 266 grs. Evelyn says this portrait of Charles is "incomparably the most resembling his serene countenance when fullest of princely vigour". The reverse depicts a hand from heaven with a crown, above a landscape with sheep but no shepherd.

By MR. H. A. SEABY:

1. Four medallic draughtsmen made about 1820 with portraits of William and Mary, and Queen Anne.
2. A medal for the Peace of Breda, in the original case.
3. Electrotypes of the Great Seal of Elizabeth and of the Commonwealth.
4. A Washington medal made of destroyed U.S.A. banknotes.
5. A souvenir ticket of metal made from an "Arnhem" glider.

By MR. HOWARD LINECAR:

1. A gold medal for the return of Charles I from Scotland, by Rawlins (?).
2. Lady Lane, by T. Simon.
3. Giles Strangeways, by Roettiers.
4. James II, Naval Award, by Roettiers.
5. Admiral Van Tromp.
6. Charles II, Embarkation at Scheveningen.

The following modern medals:

1. The commissioning of the *Queen Mary*.
2. Centenary of the London-Birmingham railway, by Pinches.
3. Bronze medals by Wyon showing Somerset House and Blenheim Palace.
4. Medals, by Wiener of Belgium, showing continental cathedrals and churches.
5. "Descent on England", 1804, by Droz.
6. "Coronation" of King Edward VIII, 1937, by Pinches.

By MR. W. SLAYTER: A rejected pattern for a medal of the Royal National Lifeboat Institution.

By MR. C. B. SMITH; also by MR. C. W. PECK: Wyon medal on the visit of Queen Victoria to Guildhall, 1837.

The exhibitors severally explained how the portrait on the medal was used on various postage stamps of the queen's reign from the first stamp issued on 1 May 1840 to the last "penny lilac". The portrait was drawn from the medal by Henry Corbould and the die engraved by C. and F. Heath, the background being impressed from a stock roller used in the manufacture of banknotes.

Later dies were prepared by W. Wyon using mint coining presses for the purpose. The medal was struck in silver and bronze.

By MR. C. B. SMITH: Coronation Medal of Queen Victoria with a reverse showing three allegorical figures and the legend "Erimus tibi nobile regnum Inaugurata die Juni XXVIII MDCCCXXXVIII".

MR. ATKINSON of Messrs. A. H. Baldwin & Son, Ltd., was present as a guest and gave a short talk on service medals and showed twenty-three medals commemorating: (1) Seringapatam, 1799; (2) Waterloo, 1815; (3) Military General Service, 1793-1814; (4) First Burma War, 1824-6; (5) Naval General Service Medal, 1 bar, Syria, 1840; (6) Jellalabad, 1842, first issue; (7) Punjab, 1849, 2 clasps; (8) Indian General Service, 1854-95, 4 clasps; (9) Indian Mutiny, 2 clasps; (10) New Zealand (Maori War) Medal, 1860-4; (11) Afghanistan, 1878-80, 3 clasps; (12) India, 1895, 2 clasps; (13) South Africa, 1853 (Kaffir War 1834-53); (14) Abyssinia, 1867; (15) East and West Africa, 1873-4; (16) South Africa, 1877-9, Zulu War; (17) Egypt (1882), 3 bars; (18) Chartered Co.'s Medal, Rhodesia, 1896; (19) East and Central Africa, 1897-8; (20) South Africa, 1899-1902, 4 clasps; (21) Ashanti, 1900; (22) Africa General Service, 1903; (23) Officers' Gold Medal for Java, 1811, in a glazed and gold frame engraved on edge "Major Geo. Miller, 14th Foot".

ORDINARY MEETING

25 JUNE 1947

MR. C. E. BLUNT, *President, in the Chair*

The following were nominated for membership of the Society:

Major B. G. Carew-Hunt, "Wyvenhoe", Shortheath Road, Farnham, Surrey.

Mr. James Partridge Ridsdale, 117 Old Broad Street, E.C. 2.

Mr. Alexander Stewart Bell, 15 Newcroft Close, Royal Lane, Hillingdon, Middlesex.

Mr. Terence Cawthorne, F.R.C.S., 149 Harley Street, W. 1.

Mr. G. Wilson Lawrence, L.D.S., of Lyndhurst, 111 Upton Road, Bexley Heath, was elected a Member of the Society.

Exhibitions

DR. E. C. CARTER and the SECRETARY exhibited continental imitations of the ryal of Edward IV.

MR. SEABY exhibited a Victoria pattern crown of 1839 with Una and Lion reverse and the following three coins for their condition: James I 5th-bust shilling, i.m. tun, Charles I shilling, i.m. bell and plume over shield, and William III half-crown 1696, B (Bristol).

Paper

MR. ANTHONY THOMPSON read a paper on the "Continental imitations of the rose noble of Edward IV". The paper is printed in this number of the *Journal*.

ORDINARY MEETING

22 OCTOBER 1947

MR. C. E. BLUNT, *President, in the Chair*

Lieut.-Colonel Allcard of the Royal Mint Museum was present as the guest of Mr. Albert Baldwin.

The death was reported of M. Pierre le Gentilhomme of the Numismatic section of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, who had made valuable contributions to the *Journal*.

The following were nominated for membership of the Society:

Mr. Philip Grierson, M.A., Caius College, Cambridge.

Mr. James R. Stewart, Dept. of History, Sydney University, Sydney, New South Wales.

Lieut.-Colonel Herbert Allcard, 302 Nelson House, Dolphin Square, S.W. 1.

Commander R. P. Mack, R.N., West House, Droxford, Hants.

Mr. L. J. Dale, 76 St. James Avenue, Papanui, Christchurch, New Zealand.

Mr. Roy Huntingford, 3 Drysdale Avenue, Chingford.

Captain W. J. C. Youde, The Shrubbery, Leacroft, Staines, Middlesex.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence was proposed for honorary membership by the President and seconded by Mr. Lockett and Mr. Taffs.

The silver medal prepared for presentation to Mr. Lawrence on the occasion of his ninetieth birthday and a short address of congratulation were passed round for inspection and members were invited to put their signatures on the address.

Mr. Alexander Stewart Bell, Major B. G. Carew-Hunt, Mr. Terence Cawthorne, and Mr. James Partridge Ridsdale were elected Members of the Society.

The President announced that Mr. David Spink had presented to the Society a number of handsome trays for use in making exhibitions at meetings. The Secretary was directed to convey the warm thanks of the Society to Mr. Spink for a very acceptable gift.

Exhibitions

MR. H. W. TAFFS exhibited seven Scottish rare bracteate tokens of about 1760.

MR. H. N. KING: Two pennies of Æthelred II, type VIII, Lewes; two coins with different obverse dies, but the same reverse die; one has three pellets on the reverse, the other has none. + LOFPNE MO LEE. (Illustrated above.)



THE TREASURER: Four coins of Stephen:

1. *B.M.C.* 1. Colchester; + SAFARE:ON:GOLL
2. *B.M.C.* 1. (Var. with no inner circle) large annulet on the king's shoulder, as *Norman Kings*, pl. XLIX, 1, and pl. LII, 7.
3. *B.M.C.* 7. Gloucester; *B.M.C.* 193 and pl. LV, 13, correcting the moneyer's name from Ralf to Willem, the moneyer of the new Henry of Anjou coin referred to below.
4. *B.M.C.* 7. Huntingdon; + P^{AL}(T)EIR ON hVN; a very rare mint and unpublished moneyer; from the same dies as a coin in Mr. Lockett's collection.

MR. LINECAR: A set of 1947 proof silver coins of South Africa.

The HON. R. W. H. ERSKINE: A groat of Edward IV-V, i.m. Sun and Rose.

The PRESIDENT exhibited in connexion with the papers:

on behalf of MR. D. F. ALLEN:

1. A cast of a Salisbury unite of Charles I.
2. A cast of a coin of Henry of Anjou.
3. Photographs to illustrate the paper on a medal of Anne Boleyn.

on behalf of MR. L. S. FORRER: A Perkin Warbeck so-called groat dated 1494.

For comparison with the above a Briquet of Marie de Bourgogne struck for Flanders, 1477, with (a) the date at the end of the legend as on the Perkin Warbeck piece; (b) the reverse legend **STLVV RND PPLM TVV DNE** recalling the Warbeck legend **DOMINE STLVVM RND REGEM**.

MR. SEABY exhibited:

1. A Perkin Warbeck groat in a cellophane holder.
2. Coins to illustrate a new method of mounting or showing coins in plastic sheets.

The Treasurer read two short papers by MR. D. F. ALLEN entitled: (1) "A New Coin of Henry of Anjou"; (2) "A Portrait Medal of Anne Boleyn".

The PRESIDENT read a short paper on "Perkin Warbeck".

The Secretary read two short papers: (1) "The Weymouth and Salisbury Mints of Charles I (An Omission Rectified)", by MR. D. F. ALLEN, describing the Weymouth unite omitted from *B.N.J.* xxiii. 97. (2) "A Note on the First Base Coinage of Henry VIII", by MR. C. A. WHITTON, which questioned the remelting of this coinage as alleged by Brooke.

The two papers by Mr. Allen are printed in this number of the *Journal*.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

28 NOVEMBER 1947

MR. C. E. BLUNT, *President, in the Chair*

The following were nominated for membership of the Society:

Mr. H. Horsman, 99 Leyburn Road, Darlington.

Mr. Doran A. Jones, 4 Weeks Street, Plymouth, New Hampshire, U.S.A.

Mr. D. Elliott Smith, 50 Moruben Road, Mosman, New South Wales.

Mr. Sydney V. Hagley, Renmark Avenue, Renmark, South Australia.

The following were elected Members of the Society:

Mr. Philip Grierson, Mr. James R. Stewart, Lieut.-Col. Herbert Allcard, Commander R. P. Mack, R.N., Mr. L. S. Dale, Mr. Roy Huntford, and Captain W. J. C. Youde.

The following names were announced from the chair as removed from membership of the Society under section 3 of Chapter IV of the Society's By-laws:

The Public Library of Leigh, Lancashire.

The Royal Institution, County Museum and Art Gallery of Truro.

Mr. A. G. H. Smith.

Mr. E. C. Winter.

Mr. F. S. Ferguson.

Exhibitions

By THE PRESIDENT:

1. Henry VI quarter-noble of the Leaf Mascle Issue, with mascle after **REX** and leaf on the tressure under **O** of **GLORI**; believed to be one of three known.
- 2-5. Edward III silver coins of the Transitional period, 1360-1; groat and half-groat with annulets by the crown; penny, omitting **REX**, and like the larger coins reading **hIB**; halfpenny, with pellets beside the upper arm of the i.m.
- 6-7. The corresponding pence of York and Durham.
8. Edward III York penny of Archbishop Thoresby struck May-July 1353 prior to the opening of the royal mint there.

By MR. H. A. SEABY:

1. Edward IV heavy halfpenny of type II, with stops not given by Messrs. Blunt and Whitton. Obv. i.m. Rose, **EDWARD DI GR** **REX**† with * either side of neck. Rev. **QIVI/TAS LON/DON**. Very fine condition and of the unusually full weight of 7.3 grains.
2. Edward III groat of the post-Treaty period with drapery on the bust represented by pellets (L. A. Lawrence, *Edward III*, p. 248, no. 28), which is apparently much rarer than those with annulets, the so-called "chain mail" groats.

By MR. ALBERT BALDWIN:

1. Henry VIII first coinage half-groat of Canterbury, Archbishop Wareham. Reverse reads **POSVI**, &c., and has **W** beside shield; i.m. Cross Fitchy both sides (unknown to Brooke but cf. R. Carlyon-Britton sale, 169, or Parsons sale 415).
2. Henry VIII first coinage half-groat of York, Cardinal Archbishop Wolsey. Reverse reads **POSVI**, &c., and bears keys and hat; i.m. Flaming Star (Star Radiant or Rayant) both sides, a variant not specified by Brooke.

By MR. PETER SEABY:

A Stephen penny of type I with a new moneyer for this reign **ARNPI**, mint uncertain but believed to be Lincoln.

By THE SECRETARY AND MR. PETER SEABY:

1. Morton half-groat of Henry VII of Canterbury of the first issue with open crown and "radiate eye" before **POSVI**. This position of the "eye" is not given by Brooke, though as he says it occurs on the second Morton issue with the arched crown. This coin may therefore be a mule between the two issues.
2. Later half-groat of the same reign also of Canterbury with initial mark tun and lis on obverse and lis on reverse, trefoil stops on obverse and **ANTOR** on reverse struck over **UORDON**.

By MR. A. E. BAGNALL:

1. Penny of Regnald.
2. Bermuda "Hog Money", 1610-19; shilling and sixpence.

The President then read his Address. At the close of the Address a vote of thanks was moved by the Secretary and seconded by Mr. Taffs.

The President announced that the Officers and Council nominated had all been unanimously elected to serve for the coming year, and that the Sanford Saltus Triennial Gold Medal for the year 1947 had been awarded to Mr. R. C. Lockett for his paper on the Truro and Exeter mints of Charles I.

The dates of the meetings in 1948 were fixed and it was decided to hold a meeting on the fourth Wednesday in September.

THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

EXPENDITURE AND INCOME ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 OCTOBER 1946

EXPENDITURE

1945

£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
7	8	2	Printing and Stationery	5	5	1
6	10	5	Postages	1	3	8
56	17	2	Expenses of Meetings, Rent, &c.	9	18	0
26	10	6	Sundry Expenses	16	15	1
3	6	0	Library Expenses	2	13	0
135	7	6	Expenditure on account of <i>Journal</i>	6	17	6
—	—	—	Balance Surplus, carried to General Purposes Fund	199	16	4

£235 19 9

£242 8 8

INCOME

1945

£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
			Subscriptions received for 1946	132	7	0
110	15	6	Subscriptions in arrear received during the year	36	15	0
			Rent Account:			
			Amount over reserved 1945			
			Donations:			
			A. E. Bagnall, Esq.	1	1	0
			Miss H. L. Farquhar	1	1	0
			Dr. E. C. Carter	1	1	0
			L. Cabot Briggs	1	1	0
4	4	0	C. E. Blunt	5	0	0
			Interest received			
39	13	6	Sale of Back Volumes			
9	10	11	Balance Deficiency, carried to General Purposes Fund			
71	15	10				

£235 19 9

£242 8 8

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31 OCTOBER 1946

LIABILITIES

[illegible]

ASSETS

[illegible]

WE beg to report to the Members that we have obtained all the information and explanations we have required. No credit has been taken for Subscriptions in arrear. We have examined the above Balance Sheet with the Books and Vouchers of the Society and are of opinion that subject to the above remark the same is properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Society's affairs, according to the best of our information and the explanations given to us, and as shown by the Books of the Society.

GILBERTS, HALLETT, & EGLINGTON, *Chartered Accountants*,
51 Coleman Street, London, E.C. 2.

15 January 1947.

ADDRESS BY CHRISTOPHER E. BLUNT, ESQ., O.B.E., F.S.A.

PRESIDENT OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

Delivered at the Anniversary Meeting, 28 November 1947

THE Society can look back on another successful year. Membership has increased, meetings have been well attended, and the papers read have covered a wide field of research. An innovation—or it may be the revival of an old practice—has been the devotion of two evenings to shorter papers. These seem to have been appreciated and we hope to continue the practice. It provides variety for the listener and should afford the opportunity to contribute at our meetings to Members who either have too little time to carry out the research needed for a full-length paper or who may feel that their experience is as yet insufficient to qualify them to read one. In the coming session we shall have one or more of these meetings, and I hope that Members—and I address my remarks here especially to those who have not so far read papers—will submit to the Secretary offers to do so. The more Members we can get taking an active part in the meetings, the more live will the Society become.

Our membership has, as I have said, continued to grow. Losses there have inevitably been, and by the death of Mr. J. B. Caldecott the Society is deprived of a further Founder Member, one dear to those who knew him. He contributed various papers to the early numbers of the *Journal* on Spanish Dollars and Lead Tokens, and elsewhere wrote on the tokens associated with boy bishops in the middle ages.

Mention must also be made of two other numismatists of note who have died in the past year, though neither was actually a Member of this Society. M. Le Gentilhomme, who was on the staff of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, is known to us chiefly through his interest in the coins of the Merovingian period which led him in due course to a study of the analogous issues of this country, the sceats, and of the Low Countries. In our *Journal* he published a note on the coins found in the Sutton Hoo hoard, and more recently he permitted us to reprint from the *Revue Numismatique* his important study on the Circulation of Sceats in Merovingian Gaul. His untimely death is an irreparable loss to medieval numismatics.

Mr. V. J. E. Ryan was probably little known personally to the majority of Members, but they will no doubt be aware that he was the possessor of one of the finest cabinets of English coins in private hands. What dispositions he made regarding them I do not at present know, but it is much to be hoped that they included provision for an adequate permanent record to be made of so important a collection.

In the past year twenty-two new Members have been elected, and on balance, after allowing for losses of all kinds, our numbers show an increase of seventeen. This is not such an impressive figure as the thirty-eight shown in the preceding year, the first in the post-war era,

but it is sufficient evidence that the interest in British numismatics is still growing. As this growth develops, as I feel confident it will, it becomes increasingly important to see that the high standards of our meetings and of the *Journal* are maintained, and that in preserving that standard we are, at the same time, supplying what the numismatist of to-day requires. This is a matter to which I shall revert later.

THE YEAR'S WORK

Perhaps the most important paper read before the Society in the year now ending was that by Mr. Derek Allen on the organization and financing of the large-scale coinage undertaken by Henry II in 1158. Mr. Allen has for some time been engaged on the preparation of a catalogue of the British Museum collection of coins of this "Tealby" type and was fortunately able to complete his manuscript before leaving for the Far East. The conclusions reached in his paper will be set out in greater detail in the preface to the catalogue when it appears and will therefore not be published in the *Journal*. A summary will, however, appear in the Proceedings.

Mr. Anthony Thompson gave us a valuable paper on the so-called "Flemish" imitations of the gold ryals of Edward IV which have for so long puzzled numismatists. That their origin was foreign seemed assured, but opinions were divided as to whether they represented an issue made by Edward IV during his exile in 1470-1 or whether they were of later date. Mr. Thompson, by a combination of numismatic and documentary evidence, has been able to date them convincingly to the latter part of the sixteenth century, a date that is at first sight surprising when it is remembered that the issue of the originals that they imitated ceased over one hundred years earlier. He also adduced strong reasons for thinking that they were minted in Holland rather than in Flanders, probably at the towns of Culembourg and Gorinchem.

Mr. Whitton, in a paper on the sovereigns of Henry VIII, gave us the results of his very detailed study of this series. He was able to show how the elaborate dies required for the beautiful early sovereigns were altered and renovated from time to time, not only to meet the requirements of the privy-mark system, but, a feature hitherto unobserved, to save the necessity of re-engraving them in their entirety as they became worn. This re-cutting in part of existing dies, a feature that was noted by Dr. Sutherland at a very much earlier date in the thrymsa series, is a feature that numismatists will do well to bear in mind; a seemingly variant die may, on occasion, prove to be no more than an amended version of the old.

Among the shorter papers Mr. Elmore Jones, whom we welcome as a new reader, discussed a possible identification for the mint of "Bran", found on certain rare coins of Stephen and, in another note, brought to our attention a hitherto unnoticed mule between types II and VII of Stephen, a mule that bids fair to disturb the existing classification of that series. In the same period Mr. Allen read a note

on a newly discovered coin of Henry of Anjou, struck at Gloucester. Two other papers of Mr. Allen's recorded the omission in his paper on the Salisbury and Weymouth mints on Charles I of an important unite and brought to notice a portrait medal of Anne Boleyn in the museum at Copenhagen. Though probably struck after her time, it is none the less a welcome addition to the few known portraits of that unfortunate Queen. Mr. Whitton put forward in another paper a tentative and ingenious solution of one of the many problems surrounding the transition from the fine to the base silver coinage of Henry VIII, and Mr. Thompson read two notes showing naval connexions with the coinage and another on a new seventeenth-century token. The series ends with a short paper of my own in which I offered some further evidence in support of the views expressed in *Medallic Illustrations of History*, namely, that the so-called "groats" of Perkin Warbeck could more properly be termed medallic-jettons.

Our two remaining sessions were devoted to Exhibitions, one specifically for commemorative and military medals. The exhibits produced showed that there is considerable interest in this aspect of numismatics.

One of the hottest days in June was the occasion of an interesting innovation. A coin day, organized by Members of the Council of the two Numismatic Societies, was held in London at the Archaeological Institute and was attended by some 300 collectors from all over the country. The large attendance seems to indicate a need for a gathering of this kind. It enabled collectors to meet one another and exchange ideas; some interesting papers were read and there were a few exhibits. For my part, and I am expressing no more than a personal opinion, I hope the Coin Day of 1947 may prove to be the first of a series of such gatherings, designed to stimulate and foster an interest in the subject from which we all derive so much pleasure.

A somewhat analogous gathering was held in Buffalo, U.S.A., to which a letter of greeting from the Society was carried by our Member, Mr. Seaby. While it is natural that collectors in the United States should pay primary attention to the coinage of their own country, the close links that bind them to us must make the British series secondary only in interest to their own. I feel sure that the interests of numismatics will be well served by an ever-growing intimacy between the American and the British Numismatic Societies, and we should be most happy to welcome as our guest here any Member of the American Society who may be visiting this country.

The record of the year's events would not be complete without mention of Mr. L. A. Lawrence's ninetieth birthday. Members will need no reminder of the work he has done for the Society whether as Director or contributor to the *Journal*, and it seemed fitting to us to take this opportunity to express our appreciation in practical form. A medal in silver was struck combining the obverse of the Society's medal with a suitably inscribed reverse, and this was duly presented to him with an address signed by a number of his friends.

From the north we learnt with pleasure of the academic honour bestowed on our Founder Member, Mr. Raby, by Manchester University in recognition of his numismatic work in Lancashire.

THE FUNCTION OF THE SOCIETY

Perhaps it may not be inapposite if I say a word about what I regard as the proper function of this Society, and I am the more prompted to do so by an announcement that I read recently of a project to form a London coin club. In brief our Society can be said to exist to promote the study of numismatics and to be a medium for the discussion and publication of the results of fresh research. Inevitably this means that much of the material dealt with has to be specialized in character, and as such may be limited in its appeal. But this should not deter those who have not a specialized knowledge of the subject from contributing to the discussions that follow our papers. It has often proved that evidence from a quite different period may provide the solution to another problem, and it is only by pooling all our knowledge that we can hope to reach the truth, the goal of all research.

Then as regards the *Journal*, it would be an easy matter to fill its pages with papers of general interest of a more elementary nature. Such papers would of course largely repeat what had already appeared elsewhere. Had we more space I would welcome the publication of an occasional paper of this kind when of outstanding merit. But as things are, anything so published would be at the expense of more serious research, and I hope you will agree with me in thinking that the Society cannot afford this.

On the other hand, the very fact that numismatics has become so specialized a subject makes it clear that there is room for another group that will be able to deal with it from a more general aspect. If the London Coin Club has this as its purpose we should, I feel confident, welcome its creation and give it any encouragement we can. As the interests of the Members of the Club develop some may well feel that they wish to carry their studies farther, and when this occurs we shall welcome them as candidates for membership of this Society. Meanwhile to the Club and to the many local Societies that have so successfully developed in the last few years I extend my very best wishes for their success. The work that they are doing must be regarded as constituting a definite and useful contribution to our studies.

NUMISMATICS IN THEIR RELATION TO HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

The subject of numismatics is so closely connected with those of history and archaeology that a few words on what seem to me to be their proper relation may not come amiss.

It will be common ground that numismatics provide an almost unrivalled illustration of history. In the British as in the Classical series a cabinet can be formed that displays the artistic trends and economic vagaries of the age and at times provides portraits of the

principal actors on the historical stage. In excavation it is the coins that generally provide the surest means of dating. In this respect their value is considerable and any steps that we can take to ensure a reliable chronology of coins is a real contribution to archaeological work.

These are the more obvious examples of the value of coins to history and archaeology, but they are far from being the only ones. In history there are certain periods where the documentary evidence is so slight that historians are driven back on to the archaeological evidence. I use the words driven back advisedly, as historians are never quite happy when relying on archaeological evidence. The dark ages that followed the Roman withdrawal is typical of what I have in mind, and we may well feel proud of the contribution that numismatics has made towards the elucidation of the problems of this difficult period.

But with our satisfaction must go a word of caution. As was pointed out in the *Numismatic Chronicle* as long ago as 1902, it is all too rare for good numismatists to be good historians. Ruding is quoted as one notable exception, but evidence is not lacking in the pages of earlier publications—and here I am generalizing and not intending any specific reference to the example I have quoted—of the perils that beset the path of numismatists who attempt to handle, unaided by the historian, the raw materials of which history is made. This is not to say that numismatists cannot contribute to history or should reject original sources. This would be entirely wrong. It is the attempt by a numismatist, unaided, to tap such sources that in general is liable to lead to disaster.

The solution in such cases is apparent—and let me emphasize again that it is in the periods where other historical evidence is scant that numismatics can play their most valuable part—the solution lies in co-operation between the historian, archaeologist, and numismatist. In my experience this co-operation is most willingly offered if sought and the purpose of these remarks is to encourage numismatists to seek it. The combined knowledge of historian, archaeologist, and numismatist, each contributing his own quota to the common pool of knowledge, should produce results of outstanding importance.

PUBLICATIONS

To revert once more to the Society's domestic affairs I should like to speak of its publications and our plans in that direction. The *Journal* duly appeared, still I fear in the emasculated form that paper restrictions dictate. But, as ever, the Oxford University Press has proved a valuable friend and has continued to help us through these difficult times.

Last year I invited Members to contribute to a Publications and Research Fund which the Council had decided to form and I am glad to announce that a sum of no less than £151. 12s. 6d. has been contributed. This sum includes a special donation of £50 from a generous donor who wishes to remain anonymous but who has given this sum

for the specific purpose of ensuring the adequate recording before dispersal of one or more of the magnificent collections of English coins now in private hands. This fact should be placed on record as we must regard ourselves as the Trustees of this donation for this specific purpose. If for any reason it cannot be fulfilled, we must be prepared to refund the money. The thanks of the Society are due, and I am sure will be given, to the persons who have contributed to this fund. Details will be set out in the annual accounts.

Our immediate plans for the employment of the fund are governed largely by paper restrictions. But the possession of the fund has encouraged us to go ahead with plans for its ultimate employment. We are now, for instance, in a position to ensure a proper record of a major collection if one comes up for dispersal; we are collecting material for a bibliography of coin-hoards, a much needed work of reference for the student, and other suggestions for its employment will be welcomed.

The need for a fresh edition of Dr. Brooke's standard book on English Coins is generally recognized, and I am glad to say that we are discussing with the publishers, Messrs. Methuen & Co. Ltd., the inclusion of an appendix to correct a few errors and to record a number of additions which will increase the value of the book. If any Members have addenda or corrigenda will they please send them to me?

Of outside publications the *Numismatic Chronicle* has produced a valuable report on the Anglo-Saxon hoard found at Tetney, and the report on the Colchester excavations, published by the Society of Antiquaries, has an important section on the Ancient British and Romano-British coins found there. Dr. Sutherland's work on the early Anglo-Saxon gold to which I referred last year is, I understand, expected shortly.

PREMISES AND LIBRARY

I had hoped by this meeting to be able to announce that we had acquired permanent premises, but the difficulties remain as great as ever. Should any Member know of premises that might be suitable for holding our meetings and housing our library the Council would be glad to hear. Meanwhile we are indebted to Mr. J. Allan for so kindly allowing the Society's library to be kept in his house at the British Museum and so readily making it accessible to Members at any reasonable time.

FINANCIAL POSITION

Our increased membership has added to our income. Current subscriptions, investment income, and donations brought in £229, and we received £36 from the sale of back numbers of the *Journal*. The Treasurer has also been at pains to collect arrears and the extent of his success is reflected in the sum of £130 that he got in. This cannot of course be a recurring item, but is rather in the nature of a welcome windfall for which our warmest thanks go to the Treasurer. But the

total of our normal income was more than exceeded by the cost of the *Journal* alone, £267. When we have premises and have rent to pay and when paper allows us to go back to a *Journal* on the scale we would wish, we shall, unless our membership increases even more than I venture to hope, be faced with the necessity of raising our subscription. If printing costs continue to rise, we may not be able to hold out even till then.

Almost alone among learned societies we have maintained our subscription at the figure of one guinea at which it was fixed when the Society was formed. We are proud of this. But if the choice lies between raising the subscription and curtailing the work of the Society I have little doubt which way the choice of Members would lie.

The forthcoming session will start with a paper at our January meeting by Mr. D. F. Allen on the late Anglo-Saxon gold which is represented by isolated and unique specimens, and to it I hope to add a note on a coin that came to his notice too late for him to include. Later Mr. Whitton will read on Henry VIII. The arrangements for the rest of the session have still to be made, but you may feel with me that an evening could usefully be devoted to short papers and another to exhibitions.

My address would not be complete without an acknowledgement of the work done on behalf of the Society by the Officers and Council. My personal thanks are due to all for the support and encouragement they have consistently given me; and Members should realize what they owe to the Secretary, a man with professional duties that must fill his day but who devotes his spare time to the interests of the Society, and to Mr. Whitton on whom the lion's share of the work of editing the *Journal* has fallen. In recognition of his work the Council has recommended that he be appointed the Director for the ensuing year.

In 1948 I look forward to another successful year. If Members continue to show their interest by attending the meetings as they have done in 1947, and by taking their part in the proceedings, I shall once again be able to present as satisfactory a report of the British Numismatic Society as it has been my privilege to do to-night.

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR'S GOLD PENNY

by D. F. ALLEN

A JUSTLY famous coin has recently been acquired by Mr. R. C. Lockett with the assistance of Messrs. A. H. Baldwin and Sons. Mr. Lockett has very kindly permitted me to publish this account of it.

The coin, a penny of Edward the Confessor, Brooke, type 5, struck in gold by the moneyer Lufinc or Lyfinc of Warwick, was discovered over a century ago. After a period of controversy, when most of the well-known numismatists of the day were able to inspect it and give their opinions, it had to all intents and purposes been lost to the numismatic world. It was, however, in safe keeping and Mr. Lockett has been able to trace a continuous pedigree. With the coin Mr. Lockett acquired a dossier of correspondence, which may be worth publishing in extract, not only for the light it throws on the coin itself, but also for the glimpse it gives us of the celebrities in the numismatic world at the beginning of the reign of Queen Victoria.

At that time the coin belonged to Mr. Thomas Henry Spurrier, solicitor, of Edgbaston, near Birmingham. About May 1837 Mr. Spurrier appears to have sought the opinion of an unnamed authority as to whether the coin was genuine. Mr. Lockett has a draft to this effect, partly in Mr. Spurrier's hand, and later documents suggest that the letter was ultimately addressed to Mr. J. Y. Akerman, the well-known dealer and writer on coins, one of the founders of the (Royal) Numismatic Society.

"The Coin", he says, "was sold at a respectable jeweller's in our town by an old woman as old gold, about 2 years ago. One of the Clarks got possession of it and offered it to me for a sovereign, but I being at that time a very young collector and having read in Ruding that the Saxons never coined gold, refused it telling him at the same time I thought it must be forged. He then took it to a Mr. Allport in whose possession it had remained ever since till I became the purchaser at a price of 10 pounds, which I did in consequence of a conversation I had with Mr. Marshall, concerning it. It appears to me to be a piece of hammered gold struck in the penny die, (perhaps by way of a medal) as I think had the Saxons coined gold other pieces must have occurred among the numerous Saxon coins which have been found, but I shall bow to the considered view of men more learned than myself. I have not at present discovered the person who first sold it but I think I may be able to do so soon . . . if it is your opinion that it is genuine, and the Numismatic Society meet soon, I should wish you to present them with an engraving sent herewith."

A later draft, dated Edgbaston 19 May 1837 and entirely in Mr. Spurrier's hand, is in reply to a missing letter of 16 May 1837, presumably itself the reply to the above. Again the addressee is omitted,

but it was probably Mr. Akerman, who, it appears from the reply, was of the opinion that the coin might have been a cast or other form of forgery. Mr. Spurrier was at pains to explain why it was improbable that anyone in Birmingham would make a forgery of this nature or dispose of it for 8s. 9d. or 9s. to a silversmith who knew nothing about coins. He asked that the coin and his letter should be exhibited at the next meeting of the Society on 25 May, which he hoped he might attend. He also mentioned that two Birmingham goldsmiths had expressed a decided view that the piece was not a cast.

The coin was duly exhibited at the meeting. Shortly afterwards, in the July part of the *Numismatic Journal* (vol. ii, p. 54), Mr. Akerman committed himself to an unfavourable opinion on the coin. "Though by no means satisfied of its antiquity we yet willingly lay a representation of it before our readers with such particulars as have accompanied it." Mr. Akerman accepted that it was struck, but in his words:

"the only question is, whether it is one of the ingenious forgeries of Bekker, who executed several false coins of the middle ages or in reality a Saxon coin. Notwithstanding the mention of gold money in the Laws of Canute and other documents of that period, nothing with the exception of this piece has appeared as evidence that the Saxons coined gold. We are certainly of opinion that the Saxons did not coin gold; and should our English Numismatists agree in proving this piece antique, we shall regard it as struck from the penny dies although no penny of Edward the Confessor of the precise type is at present known. It is somewhat remarkable that this coin weighs $54\frac{1}{4}$ grains and the $\frac{1}{2}$ florin of Edward III, 54 grains."

This published opinion clearly caused Mr. Spurrier no little concern, not to say offence. He therefore sought the views of Mr. Matthew Young, of Covent Garden, a rival dealer. We have Mr. Young's reply dated 29 July 1837, most of which is devoted to a diatribe against Becker and all his works, but ends with the following: "How Mr. Akerman could think there was a possibility of your coin being one of his fabric, I am at a loss to conceive as I never heard that he had attempted to imitate Saxon Coins—nor indeed any of the coins of the middle ages except the Byzantine and Visigoths of Spain of which I believe he has made a compleat series—now well known on the continent." Actually this statement is not quite correct; Becker did imitate a few medieval coins, but so far as is known no Saxon ones.

On 2 August Mr. Young again wrote from London returning the coin to Edgbaston and enclosing both a formal letter from himself, apparently designed for possible publication, and one from Mr. Hawkins of the British Museum, both of which supported the view that the coin was genuine. He advised another approach to Mr. Akerman "as he had good reason to think he will retract his opinion as to the possibility of its being the work of Bekker &c.". He goes on to ask if "Mr. Hill's work"—presumably the volumes we now know

as "Sainthill's Olla Podrida", which were intended for private circulation only—would be a suitable place for the publication of the coin.¹ In his formal letter he states:

"I have taken every possible means I possess from Books, documents, opinions of numismatists, as well as carefully comparing your interesting and curious gold piece with numerous Anglo Saxon & Danish Pennies in my Cabinets—the result is my conviction that it is a genuine struck piece of the time of the Confessor and I little doubt from its weight so nearly answering to the mancus (which is largely treated on by Clarke in his connections) that it was intended for that piece of Money. I have exhibited the piece to most of our numismatists who reside in London, nearly all of whom agree with me that it can be no other than a genuine struck piece of the Saxon era. Mr. J. D. Cuff of the Bullion Office of the Bank of England has examined the piece with great care and his observation was that if it was not a genuine struck Coin of the Day, it was impossible by any known rule to determine a real coin from a forgery. Mr. Cuff is considered our best judge of Saxon coins, both from practice and theory. In fact we have no other numismatist that I am acquainted with that is able to give an opinion that may be depended on so well as that Gentleman. He possesses by far the finest and most numerous Collection in England of Anglo Saxon Coins. The Rev. D. J. W. Martin, Rector of Theston in Kent (a gentleman whose opinion I bow to in these matters) possesses a fine collection of English coins from Egbert. He considers your piece certainly genuine. Such is the opinion also of Mr. Brumell, the Revd. Mr. Brice, Mr. Bentham and various others to whom I have shewn the piece. The only well informed Gentleman of profound judgement in numismatics that appears to me to have a doubt of the antiquity of your coin is Mr. Thos. Thomas who possesses one of the best collections of Greek and Roman Coins of any Gentleman in our Country or in Europe. He seems to think that notwithstanding its beauty and sharpness there is a possibility of its being a cast, he having seen surprising specimens of casts in fine Gold. At the same time he candidly acknowledges that he has never turned his attention sufficiently to Saxon coins to be able to give a decided opinion as to the antiquity of your piece. He is rather prejudiced in the opinion (entertained by many eminent antiquaries) that the Saxons never struck gold for currency. There are very few that professedly collect Saxon coins in London, most of those best versed in Saxon and Danish money reside in various parts of our Country, and not having the opportunity of seeing your coin cannot form a decided opinion on it from the print. Mr. Doubleday the most ingenious Caster of Seals and Coins is decidedly of opinion your piece is not a cast. He has had the opportunity of comparing it with various Saxon Pennies & considers it of the time of Edward the Confessor. He

¹ It does not appear to be mentioned by Sainthill.

has as good an eye for a coin as any person I am acquainted with, & tho not long conversant with numismatics his opinion is consulted by our first antiquaries. In fact his knowledge of the antiquity of Greek and Roman Coins, exceeds many Collectors of long standing."

Hawkins's opinion was expressed as follows:

"Dear Sir, I have very carefully compared the gold piece of Edward the Confessor with the silver coins of that King in the British Museum; and I must say that the workmanship of both is so very similar that I can scarcely believe it possible that they should not be contemporaneous. The cheek and chin upon all are in relief and smooth, the die having been hollowed out with a tool, perhaps ground down: the nose and lips are punched into the die, not cut. In the gold piece the lips are formed by two longish sharp lines, in the other they are generally formed by two round dots, but not always; for they are sometimes like on the gold. On the reverse the object in one quarter of the cross of the gold is a point; in all our silver coins it is distinctly an annulet. The gold is much larger than any of our silver and must have been struck in a collar made on purpose; I believe all the coins of that period to have been struck in collars though the practice was left off in after times. Upon the whole I believe the coin to be genuine; but I should be glad to see it side by side with a silver coin of the same type struck at the same place by the same moneyer as there are some peculiarities in the letters. LIFINC is common, LYFINC I do not recollect; the Æ for E or A in Warwick is also unknown to me; a genuine silver coin might explain all this.

Yours truly, E. Hawkins."

Some of Mr. Hawkins's points will be touched on again later in this paper.

In accordance with Mr. Young's advice, Mr. Spurrier wrote to Mr. Akerman, and we have his draft, dated in error 5 July instead of 5 August 1837. He recapitulates the views expressed and opinions collected in Mr. Young's letter and repeats all he then knew of the coin's provenance. He ended with an appeal to Akerman to "retract what has been said of it in your last Journal". Mr. Akerman had, however, made up his mind to be obstinate. In the October part (vol. ii, pp. 106-7) he repeated his earlier opinion with slight modifications in the direction, it may be thought, of greater obscurity. "We are by no means certain that Becker did not attempt to imitate the coins of our Saxon Monarchs. We do not pronounce Mr. Spurrier's coin a forgery but we are not to be made to believe but that the rude money of this period might not be successfully imitated in so ductile a metal as gold." He apologized if his previous observations had been taken in ill part, and promised publicity to any evidence establishing authenticity.

By this time Mr. Spurrier's blood was up; he was determined to

settle the question one way or the other. At about this date he must have made contact with Mr. Jabez Allies, the historian of Worcestershire; it is not clear how he obtained the clue to Worcester, but it may have been through a Mr. Manning. On 15 May 1837 he had apparently written about this coin to Mr. George Charles Mole, "one of his former clerks that had been in the habit of saving any little thing that was in any way curious"; the letter is missing, but on 17 May Mr. Mole replied that "the coin in question . . . was placed in my hands by Mr. Thomas Manning, then in the employ of Mr. Henry Edwards. He informed me that it belonged to a friend of his who wished to dispose of it. . . . When you declined purchasing I returned it, and Mr. Manning sold it to Mr. Allport—but for what sum or at what time I cannot tell." For further information Mr. Spurrier was referred to Mr. Manning. On 9 October 1837 Mr. Allies, writing from Worcester, states that he had already made a "Parcel" on the coin and had also "made a report to the Council of our Natural Hy. Society thereon", which the *Guardian* newspaper had printed. He was continuing inquiries through Mr. Manning in Birmingham. By 19 October he could report that he was about to meet Mr. Manning, and on 27 October he wrote to the Council of the Worcestershire Natural History Society reporting the results. A copy is included in a letter of 30 October to Mr. Spurrier whom he had in the meantime visited, and the following are the principal passages of interest:

"Since my letter to the Society of 1st Inst.—enclosing an engraving of a Saxon coin of Edward the Confessor in the Collection of Thos. Hy. Spurrier, Esq, of Edgbaston near Birmingham I have to observe that Mr. Spurrier and myself have made out a complete chain of evidence relative to this valuable unique having been found upon the taking down of the old St. Clement's Church in this city. The particulars I have subjoined as they are highly important relative to our local history. This coin has been laid before the Numismatic Society in London and I have lately seen several letters to Mr. Spurrier from some of the first Numismatists in the Kingdom declaring it to be a genuine Coin and that it is the only one which has been found. Its discovery has therefore subverted all that was previously written upon the subject relative to there having been any Saxon Gold Coins."

He then sets out the deposition described below and continues that "this antient church was taken down about 13 years ago and rebuilt on the other side of the river. Some portions of the old walls still remain containing circular arches." He proceeds to give some particulars of the church in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which are not relevant here, and concludes by saying that he understood "Mr. Manning, who is now in the employ of Messrs Edwards Hall & Co, Goldsmiths, High St., Birmingham, sold it as having been found in the above mentioned rubbish to Mr. Allport of Bull Street, Birmingham, Watchmaker, for 13s. 2d. and the latter sold it to Mr.

Spurrier for £10. These facts they respectively informed me of during my late visit to that place."

The deposition is also in Mr. Lockett's possession. It is written in Mr. Spurrier's neat, legal hand, and though not dated was, as is shown by a further declaration at the end, to have been executed on 21 October 1837. It reads:

"*Andrew Ball* of Severn Stoke in the County of Worcester Coal Dealer says.—I was at Saint Clement's Church in Worcester, when it was being taken down, and while I was there one of the workmen discovered a small piece of Gold amongst the Ruins, which I purchased of him for five shillings, and when I got home I gave it to my wife to take care of, but afterwards sold it to Mr. Manning of Birmingham for ten shillings—The workman's name I understood was Jefferies, and lived at St. John's but whether he was a native of Worcester, or only a lodger I cannot tell. The Mark X of Andrew Ball. Andrew Ball made his mark in the presence of us Thomas Henry Spurrier Elizabeth Ball Thomas Manning."

There is a further declaration, made five days later, that Mr. Spurrier's coin is the same as that found in the church. Andrew Ball and his wife declare that "they should know it from a thousand others", while the wife states that "she cleaned the Coin, when it was brought to her at her then residence in Worcester and that it was of a darker colour before it was cleaned". Andrew Ball added his mark, while his wife and Jabez Allies signed it in the presence of W. H. D'Egville, College Yard, Worcester.

Mr. Allies's letter and the depositions were duly published in the *Guardian* newspaper. Some correspondence may have ensued, as on 6 December 1837 Mr. Allies was sending Mr. Spurrier a copy of views expressed by Thos. Meade, Esq., of Chatley Lodge near Bath to the Worcester Natural History Society, which may be summarized by saying that he, quite wrongly, attributed the coin to Worcester instead of Warwick. We do not have Mr. Spurrier's reply.

Mr. Spurrier was delighted with these results, as we learn from a draft letter, perhaps intended for Mr. Young; the only clue is that the recipient must have been the author of "an interesting work on the Roman Denarius and English Penny". The draft is dated 18 October, but this again may be a mistake for 28 October. After recapitulating the whole story, he adds that

"I have all the evidence of its being so found, and also the whole History of it, since its discovery written into a Book for that purpose and properly attested—together with extracts from the Worcester papers as published by the Natural History Society of that City".

He complains of Akerman's treatment of the theme in the *Numismatic Journal* ("which by the bye I think anything but an impartial work").

He also announces his intention of publishing the piece in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. Mr. Lockett in fact has the draft of the letter he wrote to the magazine, which was duly published in New Series, vol. viii, July-December 1837, p. 637. The "Book" has not turned up.

This concludes the main bundle of evidence relating to the coin, but Mr. Lockett has a few further papers which account fully for its subsequent history. On the death of Mr. Spurrier the coin passed to Major-General Edward Mortlock Studd, later a Fellow of the Royal Numismatic Society, who had married Mr. Spurrier's daughter Mary as his first wife. On his death in 1877 it passed to Mr. (Captain) Edward Fairfax Studd, his son by his second wife, in whose possession it was in 1886 when Mr. H. Montagu wrote to him regretting his decision not to part with it. Mr. Montagu clearly believed the coin genuine; but he said that "there is *no doubt* but that, if genuine, the piece was struck as an experiment or as a *pièce de luxe* from the penny die". On Captain Studd's death in 1942 the coin passed to his wife, Mrs. Evelyn Studd, daughter of Sir Edward Chichester, Bt.; this lady died at Exleigh Stonecross on 11 February 1947, aged 93. Other coins inherited in the same way from Thomas Henry Spurrier were sold at Sotheby's recently, but the gold penny was handled apart from the rest of the collection and, through the instrumentality of Messrs. A. H. Baldwin & Sons, passed into Mr. Lockett's hands.

It has seemed to me worth while to give an account of the pedigree of the coin and the views expressed on it over a hundred years ago, since the arguments which convinced the majority of numismatists of that day of its genuineness are equally cogent to-day. If we disregard Akerman, who clearly did not know how to retreat gracefully, little was said about the coin with which we cannot still agree. The coin, illustrated [Pl. fig. 1], is undoubtedly struck from dies for the penny, but a fairly thorough search has failed to discover any surviving silver penny actually from the same dies; as will be seen later, however, a number of very similar pennies by the same moneyer from the same mint are known. These dispose, I think, of all Hawkins's hesitations.

Between the time of Mr. Spurrier and to-day the coin seems to have been seen by comparatively few numismatists. In the second and third editions of Ruding's *Annals* it is illustrated from the original *Numismatic Journal* block (Pl. II. 44); Lindsay describes it in his *View of the Coinage of the Heptarchy*, 1842 (p. 83), and Kenyon includes it in his *Gold Coins of England*, 1884. Of these writers, Kenyon alone (pp. 13-16) had not seen it; Lindsay regarded it as a proof. A fine article on "The Regal Mints of Tamworth, Warwick and Coventry", by W. A. Cotton, which was read before the Archaeological section of the Birmingham and Midlands Institute on 28 November 1888, describes it accurately and records its whereabouts. Brooke refers to it cautiously, but inaccurately as regards provenance, in his *English Coins* (p. 68). The archaeological importance of the coin has,

however, not been overlooked. It was described in the *Antiquaries Journal*, vol. i, pp. 261-2, in the account of a meeting held in 1845, where both it and the remains of St. Clement's Church are illustrated. Jabez Allies gives a full account of it in his *On the Ancient British, Roman and Saxon Antiquities and Folklore of Worcestershire*. I have not seen the first edition, which is quoted in the *Antiquaries Journal*, but in the second edition, c. 1851, there is an account of the coin borrowed in part from the *Antiquaries Journal*, from which also the print of the ruins is reproduced. Another account of it was given by J. S. Walker in describing the old churches of Worcester in *Reports and Publications of the Association of Architectural Societies*, vol. iv, 1857-8, p. 225. None of these sources give any information of value about the early history of St. Clement's, of which nothing seems to be known. The architecture is of the style which we should normally call "early Norman", but, as the *Archaeological Journal* points out, the Norman style was established in this country before the Norman Conquest.

The controversy over Mr. Spurrier's coin might well have taken another course if the numismatists of the day had known that some sixteen years before the discovery of his coin there had been a similar find in another part of the country. About the year 1808 there was found at Hellingly, in Sussex, thirteen miles from Lewes, a penny of Æthelred II, Brooke, type 4, struck in gold by the moneyer Leofwine of Lewes. Almost immediately after its discovery it was bought from the finder by a Mr. Martin for 8s. 10d., at which sum it was valued by a passing Jew. It was first brought to the attention of numismatists in 1879 by Sir John Evans in an article in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for that year (pp. 62-5). It then belonged to a daughter-in-law of Mr. Martin, by name Mrs. Holroyd, from whom shortly afterwards it passed to the British Museum. It is illustrated here [Pl. fig. 5]. The pedigree of the Lewes penny is as authentic and convincing as that of the Warwick one. The parallel between the two coins is indeed remarkable. The Lewes coin weighs $51\frac{1}{2}$ grains, the Warwick $54\frac{1}{4}$. Both were found in England within a very few miles of the place of their minting. While it is true that the Warwick coin was struck from dies which are quite fresh and sharp, and the Lewes coin, as Evans noted, comes from rusty and worn dies, both coins are undoubtedly hammered pieces. The parallel is so close throughout, that if we accept one coin as authentic, we must accept the other also, and it is strongly in favour of both that they come from quite independent sources.

Two other gold coins, both famous, have come to us from the Anglo-Saxon period, but the comparison is not so telling. The Offa dinar and the Wigmund solidus, both now in the British Museum, are separated from the two gold pennies by a long period of time, and while close to each other in weight (66 and $68\frac{1}{4}$ grains respectively)¹ they are significantly heavier than the later pieces. Although the former of these coins was not known at the time of the Spurrier cor-

¹ The latter piece has, however, two small piercings.

respondence, it is surprising that the second was not mentioned. Doubts have been cast on the authenticity of both, though probably on insufficient grounds. Some years before the recent war a lengthy and learned series of articles in the *Berliner Münzblätter* by J. Menadier, 1932-3, attempted to prove, principally on historical grounds, that the Offa dinar was false.¹ This article has never been answered, but deserves a considered reply. The Wigmund solidus was for long doubted by many antiquaries on the ground that at that time no other Anglo-Saxon gold pieces, other than thrymsas, were known; it has also been doubted more recently on the ground that it comes from the Pembroke Collection, noted for the number of forgeries it contained. Neither ground is sufficient, but it is not part of this article to vindicate these two coins. They are only revelant incidentally in that they may show that gold coinage was not entirely unknown at an earlier date in Anglo-Saxon England. Both coins admittedly copy more famous gold coins of other countries circulating freely in Europe at the time when they purport to have been issued, whereas the gold pennies represent a quite different phenomenon, the striking of familiar silver coins in gold at a time when no other country in northern Europe was striking gold coins at all.

If only one of these pennies had come down to us, it would perhaps be possible to explain it convincingly by describing it as a "proof", a *pièce-de-luxe* or a "medal"—in other words, a freak. The facts that there are two, that they are for practical purposes of the same weight, and that one of them is from rusty dies makes this a most improbable explanation. It may safely be said that there is no clear mention in Anglo-Saxon records of this time of a gold denomination in the country. We must, then, look farther afield for an explanation, and in fact one has been suggested by Major P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton in his article on "The Gold Mancus of Offa, King of Mercia", in the *British Numismatic Journal*, 1908, vol. v, pp. 55-72.

The burden of this article is to show that the Offa dinar was a coin of the value of one mancus and that, together with the other Anglo-Saxon gold coins and the gold solidi of Louis le Débonnaire, it was struck for the express purpose of paying Peter's Pence in Rome, a theory which had its origin in the views put forward by M. de Longpérier and Mr. J. Y. Akerman in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1842 (pp. 122-4) and had been quoted with favour by Kenyon. The argument rests on the famous letter from Offa to Pope Adrian I in which

¹ Menadier's views (J. Menadier, "Die Mankusen des Koenigs Offa von Mercia", *Berliner Münzblätter*, 1932-3, x. 533, 563; xi. 4, 17, 41, 59) may be summarized by saying that he shows why, on historical grounds, we should not expect to find Offa copying an Arab coin, why such a copy, if made, would not appeal to the Holy See at Rome, why Offa's coin is not comparable with subsequent mixed Christian-Arab coins, and how, early in the last century, historical material was available in a form which could have suggested to a would-be forger the idea of creating such a coin. The article is not convincing; it in effect says that because the Offa dinar is awkward it must be false, a deduction which does not follow. The material collected, however, is well worth study and there is much in the article which is illuminating, even if there will be found few British numismatists to agree with his principal conclusion.

the king expresses his intention of sending yearly to the Pope a sum of 365 mancuses. The article does not deal primarily with the Lewes or Warwick pennies, but nevertheless argues in favour of all four pieces being intended for the same purpose. This attractive theory, argued in Major Carlyon-Britton's most characteristic style, was not left unanswered. In the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1914 (pp. 77 ff.) Mr. John Allan gave convincing reasons for thinking that the mancus was not a coin but a money of account, that the Arabic derivation usually given for the word is impossible, and that the Arab dinar was a familiar coin in France where it had been imitated in the normal course of trade. He reaches the conclusion that it was impossible to connect the annual gift to the Pope with the Offa dinar. Mr. Allan also was only incidentally concerned with the Lewes and Warwick pennies. We have then to consider two questions in relation to the two gold pennies, firstly whether they were struck for the purpose of inclusion in the annual gift of Peter's Pence to Rome, and secondly whether there is any reason to suppose they should rightly be described as mancuses or as having the value of a mancus.

The discovery of both coins in England near the scene of their minting (unlike the Offa dinar which came from Rome itself) tells heavily against their having been struck as Peter's Pence. Further, the fact that both coins were struck at relatively scarce mints also weighs against the theory. One would expect any presentation in specially struck gold pieces to have been prepared at one of the principal cities such as London, Canterbury, or Winchester, even if the sums of money for them were collected from the whole country. One cannot expect the Pope to have displayed any interest in the mint cities or the moneyers; his only concern was that the income should come in. While it is obviously dangerous to draw too general conclusions from two specimens, the natural deduction from the facts concerning the finding of these coins is that the purpose for which they were intended was a local one; indeed, but for the speculations regarding the Offa dinar, it is unlikely that the idea of connecting these coins with Rome would have occurred to anyone. No evidence of such a connexion has yet been noticed from any Roman source.

The second question is a fruitful field for speculation; material on the mancus and other monetary or accounting denominations in Anglo-Saxon times abounds but does not appear to have been put together in a comprehensive or authoritative form. Such work as time permitted during the preparation of this paper was sufficient to show that the information to be found in standard books of reference regarding the mancus (and the half-mark) was perfunctory and confusing; it was not possible in the time to attempt any thorough study of so wide a subject, which is nevertheless to be recommended for later investigation by members of this Society.

The mancus is a well-known monetary term both on the Continent and in this country. For instance, as late as the twelfth century Count Raimond Berenger of Barcelona struck gold coins of this name.

At most times, however, it appears to have represented a weight or money of account. In Frankish literature it could represent a sum of silver, but in Anglo-Saxon literature, where it is first found in the later seventh century, it is extremely common as a money of account. It is frequently described there in terms as a mancus of gold. In the vast majority of contexts it must refer to sums paid in silver pennies, but there do occur instances where it would be easy to interpret it as referring to objects or payments made in some form of gold. In no single instance can it be shown positively to relate to an actual gold coin.

There may be reasons for thinking that Arab or Byzantine dinars of gold were used to a very limited extent in transactions in England; very occasional specimens have been found here. It must be admitted that no concrete ground, other than the existence of the two gold pennies themselves, can be found for supposing that there ever was any Anglo-Saxon coinage in gold, but so far as it goes, that is the best possible evidence. In conditions where the initiative in coining rested normally with the merchant and not with the Crown there is no intrinsic reason why a merchant should not be free to have coins struck by official mints at a recognized standard in gold as well as in silver, and the coins suggest that this is what may have happened.

The mancus is shown by many passages to have had a value of thirty pence, but as we do not know the exchange ratio between gold and silver at this date, we cannot calculate its proper weight in gold. If an Arab or Byzantine dinar, weighing about $67\frac{1}{2}$ grains, had the value of a mancus or thereabouts, it is very clear that the two gold pennies, weighing $51\frac{1}{2}$ and $54\frac{1}{4}$ grains respectively, had not. Similarly if, as would not be unreasonable, the gold pennies were to be taken as the equivalent of one of the commonest monies of account thought of in terms of gold, a relation would be established between gold and silver of something like $12\frac{1}{2}-1$, which seems too high to be probable.

There are too many imponderables in all such speculation, based on the existence of two coins only, for positive conclusions to be drawn, but from a very preliminary acquaintance with the vast manuscript sources I have drawn the conclusion that there is no *a priori* reason why the gold pennies, whatever the purpose which occasioned their striking, should not have been thought of at the time as having a definite monetary value, and that, while this value might well be related to that of the mancus or half-mark of gold, it requires extreme assumptions as regards the margins of weight and the gold-silver conversion rate to support a conclusion that the gold pennies themselves actually represented the sum of a mancus.

That a medallion purpose was not intended seems clearly indicated by the fact that one of the two specimens comes from strikingly rusty dies, but what their actual purpose was cannot yet be regarded as established.

It is now time to examine in more detail some of the particulars of

Mr. Lockett's coin. It is in nearly every respect typical of Edward the Confessor's fifth type of silver penny. The legends are:

Obv. +EDPE / . RD REX

Rev. +LVFINE ON P/ERINC

There are two slight peculiarities on the reverse; in the third quarter there is an added pellet, and the point in the centre of the whole design has somewhat the appearance of a star. The obverse has no peculiarities [**Pl. fig. 1**; see also enlargement ($2\frac{1}{2}:1$)].

No specimen in silver from the same dies has yet come to light, and neither die has yet been found in any other combination. The following are the specimens of similar coins by the same moneyer which I have been able to locate:

1. +EDPE : / . RD REX

+LUFINE ON P/ERINCPIE

In Mr. Lockett's collection. From the City Hoard.
Weight 26.2 grains. [**Pl. fig. 2.**]

2. +EDPE / . RDREX

+LVEINC ON P/ERIN Pellet in $\frac{1}{4}$ quarter.

In British Museum. (*B.M.C.* 1268.)

Weight 24.0 grains. [**Pl. fig. 3.**]

3. +EDPRD / REX

+LVFFINE ON P/ERI

In Stockholm Museum.

Weight unknown. [**Pl. fig. 4.**]

There is still much hoard material in Sweden and other Scandinavian countries which has not been worked over, where other specimens may well exist. It is, however, clear from the number of specimens recorded that the period was one of exceptional activity at the Warwick mint.

For the sake of comparison the following is a description of the gold penny of Æthelred II of Lewes of type 4:

+EDELREDREXANGL

+LEO / FPINE / MOL / /EPE : [**Pl. fig. 5, B.M.**]

A similar silver penny, but not from the same dies, is also in the British Museum, and Mr. H. H. King has others.

In order to illustrate the coin in its context at the mint of Warwick, the following table of coins has been prepared (pp. 272-3).

The table is compiled as regards Anglo-Saxon coins from Mr. W. A. Cotton's article¹ (omitting a few coins now known or believed to be of other mints), and as regards Norman coins from Dr. G. C. Brooke's

¹ "The Regal Mints of Tamworth, Warwick and Coventry", by W. A. Cotton; read before the Archaeological Society of the Birmingham and Midland Institute, 28 Nov. 1888. I am glad to thank Mr. F. Elmore Jones for much valuable help over this section of the paper.

British Museum Catalogue of Norman Coins. The type numbers are as given in Brooke's *English Coins*.

The following coins have been added:

Harthacnut, Leofwine. Hildebrand, no. 189.

Edward Confessor, Brooke, type 2, Ælfsige. *B.M.C.* 1266.

" " " " 3, Lufinc. Carlyon-Britton Sale, lot 1115.

" " " " 4, Leofwine. Carlyon-Britton Sale, lot 593.

" " " " 6, (var. bust to left) Astan. In Guildhall Museum, London.

" " " " 7, Lufinc. In Mr. Lockett's Collection.

Harold II, Wulfwine. See *B.N.J.* xxiii. 273.

William I, Wulfwine, type 5. See *B.N.J.* xii. 30.

Stephen, type 7, Everard. In Mr. F. Elmore Jones's Collection.

The mutilated coin in the British Museum by Thurstan, *B.M.C.* 1270, reputed to be of Warwick, is more likely to be a coin of Norwich and has been omitted. There is some doubt whether coins of Siwerd and Theodric should not rather be attributed to Wareham. There is also some doubt about the coin of Æthelwine recorded by Cotton on the strength of a coin in Copenhagen but not otherwise known.

There may be some confusion between coins reading *Leofwi(g)* and *Leofwine*, also between those reading *Leofwig* and *Leofric*. The types of the coins found in Norway and recorded in H. Holst's "Uten- og Innenlandske Mynter. Norske Hedlagt for A 1100" in *Nord. Num. Ass.*, 1943, p. 81 (of offprint) are not given, and may provide some variants. Ælric is recorded as a moneyer of William I on the strength of a coin in the British Museum the die of which was subsequently altered to read Lifric; perhaps the name should be omitted (see *Num. Chron.*, 1911, p. 284).

The table suggests that the mint of Warwick had a complement of four moneyers at most times. The names form a more or less intelligible sequence throughout the 150 years during which the mint operated. The name Godwine seems to have occurred at two different periods and that of Leofric at three, with marked gaps between; these must have been in each case different individuals. The only anomaly is that the name Lifinc or Lufinc is found practically continuously from the third type of Æthelred II, somewhere about A.D. 985, to the last type of William I, say, A.D. 1085. No other moneyer's name lasted for a comparable period at this mint. Leofwi or Leofwig coined from the second type of Cnut to the last type of Harthacnut, possibly a little longer if some of the coins read as Leofric should have been attributed to Leofwi, that is to say, from about A.D. 1020 to A.D. 1042 or a year or two later. This is a reasonable term of office for one

Moneyers	Edward II	Æthelred II					Cnut						Harold I		Harthacnut		Edward Confessor										Harold II
		1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	1	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Osmer .	+	+	..	+
Æðelric .	..	+	+	+
Byrðsige	+
Huse .	..	+
Leofwold .	..	+
Wulfric .	..	+	+
Æðestan	+
Lufinc (Lifinc, &c.)	+	+	+	+	+	..	+	+	+	..	+	+
Leofwig	+	+	+	+	..	+	+	+	+
Leofwine	+	..	+	+	+
Godwine	+	+
Æðelwine	+
Godd (Goda)	+	+
Siwerd	+
Ælfsige	+
Leofric (Lifric)	+	+	+	+	..	+
Astan	+	..	+
Durcil	+
Deodric	+
Wulfwine	+	..
Ælric
Didraed
Goldinc
Sperhavoc
Edred
Essuwi
Everard
Forna

* Bust to left.

Moneyers	William I								William II					Henry I															Stephen	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	1	7
Osmer
Æðelric
Byrhtsige
Huse
Leofwold
Wulfric
Æðestan
Lufinc	+	+
(Lifinc, &c.)
Leofwig
Leofwine
Godwine	+	+
Æðelwine
Godd
(Goda)
Siwerd
Ælfsige
Leofric	+	+	+	..
(Lifric)
Astan
Durcil	+	+	+
Deodric
Wulfwine	+
Ælric	+
Didraed	+	+
Goldinc	+	+	+
Sperhavoc	+	+	+	+
Edred	+	..
Essuwi	+	..	+	..
Everard	+	+
Forna	+	..

* Mule 5-6.

moneyer, but the name Lifinc or Lufinc must conceal at least two individuals and probably more, perhaps a family sequence.

This fact may provide us with the explanation of the pellet found in one quarter of the reverse of Mr. Lockett's coin. A similar pellet, but in a different quarter, occurs on the silver penny of the same type and moneyer in the British Museum [Pl. fig. 3]. These coins come as nearly as we can measure in the centre of the 100 years of activity of moneyers with this name at Warwick. It is possible that the pellet was added to differentiate the coins of a new Lifinc or Lufinc from an old.

While such an explanation is intrinsically likely in this particular instance, it must be admitted that the same interpretation cannot be applied to the use of an extra pellet or other *différents monétaires* at other mints and by other moneyers. In the present state of our knowledge it cannot be taken for granted that similar irregular marks always carried the same meaning; an extra pellet, cross, or bar served to differentiate a coin at a glance, but the reasons which called for differentiation may have varied in different cases; it need be put no higher in some instances than that the moneyers, being illiterate, wished to know their own coins without the necessity of reading them. It appears to me quite impossible to trace any consistent thread in the following instances of *différents monétaires* on coins of Edward the Confessor, type 5, across which I have come in the course of preparing this article, a list which makes no claim to be exhaustive:

(a) *A single extra pellet in one quarter.*

Barnstaple. Ælfric	+	In Mr. Lockett's Collection.
Colchester. Brihtric	+	B. M.
„ Leofric	+	B. M.
Hastings. Brid	+	In Mr. Lockett's Collection and <i>B.M.C.</i> , No. 497.
London. Ælfgar	+	B.M.
Warwick. Leofric	+	<i>B.M.C.</i> , No. 1267.
„ Lufinc	+	<i>B.M.C.</i> , No. 1268.
Winchester. Leofwine	+	<i>B.M.C.</i> , No. 1393.

(b) *Two extra pellets in opposite quarters.*

Tamworth. Ægelwine.	<i>B.M.C.</i> , No. 1258.
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(c) *One extra annulet in one quarter.*

All coins of York.	
London. Godwin.	<i>B.M.C.</i> , No. 949.

(d) *One letter G in one quarter.*

Wilton. Ælfwine.	<i>B.M.C.</i> , No. 1327.
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(e) *Four extra crosses, one in each quarter.*

Shrewsbury. Wulmær.	<i>B.M.C.</i> , No. 1179.
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(f) *Extra bar across one arm of main cross.*

Ilchester. Oswald.	B.M., ex Evans Collection.
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A comparable list could be made out for the other types of Edward the Confessor. The mark at York is generally supposed to be connected with its status as an ecclesiastical mint, but the same explana-

tion does not apply so readily to the single coin of London with this mark. The bar at Ilchester is characteristic of that mint, but its purpose is quite uncertain; it is used by all the moneyers. Extra pellets at the scarcer mints, such as Barnstaple, Colchester, and Tamworth, could hardly be intended to differentiate between two moneyers of the same name, whereas that explanation would be intelligible both for Ælfgar of London and Leofwine of Winchester. Against adopting this explanation for the extra pellet on coins of Lufinc of Warwick is the fact that the coin of Leofric of the same type and mint in the British Museum is similarly marked, and in that instance we have no other reason to suspect that there may have been two moneyers of the same name.

Mr. H. H. King tells me that he has two or three Lewes coins of the same moneyer as the gold penny of Leofwine. Two of these are from the same reverse die, but one has a pellet in each of three quarters while the other has none. It is likely that the same kind of confusion would be discovered in that issue, if this subject were pursued.

In the description of Mr. Lockett's gold penny it has been mentioned that the central pellet on the reverse resembles a star. This is very clearly shown in the engraving in Ruding and in other of the earlier reproductions of the coin, but in Kenyon's illustration the star has been turned into an ordinary pellet. Cotton illustrates the coin twice, the first time very accurately, the second time with the extra pellet and star removed so as to let the coin show as a typical specimen of type 5 as a whole. From an examination of the coin itself, I am inclined to regard this mark as a fortuitous result produced in the course of engraving, not as an intentional *différent monétaire*. Other coins of the same type have incipient rays from the pellet; I have not seen any other specimen on which they are so clear, but then few specimens are as well struck or come from such sharp dies (see Plate).

The doubts which Kenyon and others felt about the form of the mint and moneyers' names need cause us no concern. In the charters of the Anglo-Saxon period Warwick is normally spelt as *Waerincwica* or *Waerinc wicus* (e.g. Kemble, 1001 and 1016), and this or *Warewic* is the normal spelling subsequently. In Domesday it is spelt *Warwic*. In the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* it is given as *Waeringwicum*. In the *Oxford Dictionary of English Place-names* it is recorded as *Waerincg wican* in A.D. 723-37.

On the earliest coin of Warwick, from the reign of Edward the Martyr, the reading is PERIN, and similar readings occur very occasionally thereafter. The great majority of Anglo-Saxon coins of Warwick, however, read some abbreviation of the legend which occurs in full on a coin of Æthelred II, type 1, in Stockholm, Moneyer Huse, namely, PÆRINGPICA, and, without the final A, on a silver penny from the City Hoard, in Mr. Lockett's collection, moneyer Lufinc, of Edward the Confessor, type 5, that is to say, a coin of the same moneyer and type as the gold penny. It is not until the Norman period that the mint reading for Warwick alters to PERE, PERI,

PERPIC, PRPICE, PARPI, &c., a change which is in accordance with the Domesday and other manuscript sources. The reading on the gold penny is thus quite normal.

So is the reading of this very common moneyer's name. In the index to Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum* the following spellings of the name are given: *Leuincg*, *Leuing*, *Lifing*, *Liofing*, *Leofincg*, *Leofing*, *Lyfing*, *Lyuinge*. Others are given in Searle's *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum*.

There was a Leuing residing in the county of Warwickshire at the time of Domesday. The Bishop of Worcester about the time this coin was issued was named Lyfing (Birch, iv. 22, 23). The name occurs on coins of Warwick alone in the following forms: LYFINC, LIFINC, LIFNC, LYFFE, LVEINC, LVFFINC, LEOFINC. It may be that the letter read as V should in some cases rather be read as a Y.

There seems to be no chronological order in the forms of name which are used indifferently throughout the period from the end of the tenth to the middle of the eleventh century during which the name especially flourished.

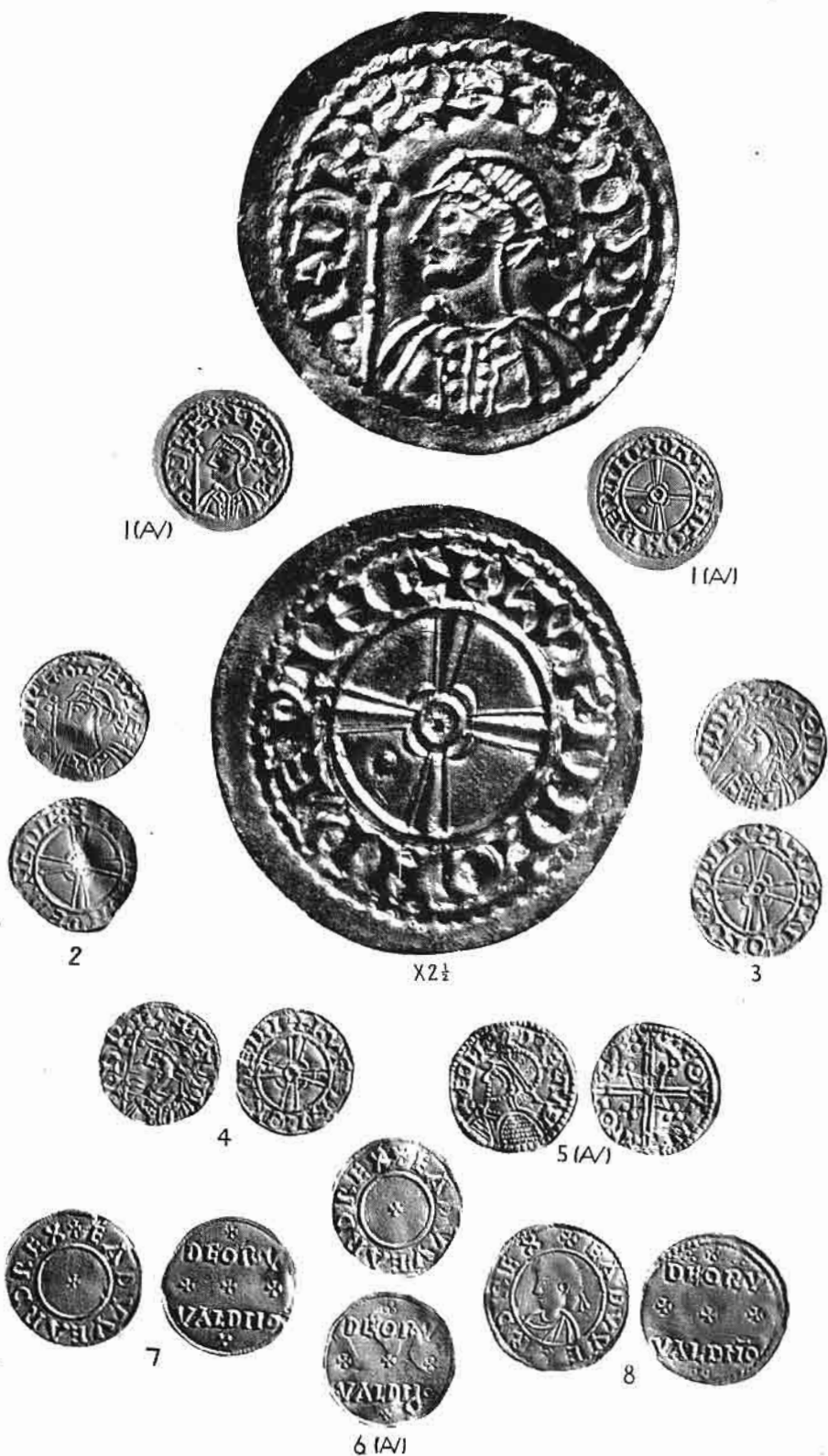
There is not much information to be had about Warwick before the Conquest. The town was founded as a Burg in A.D. 914 by Ethelfleda Lady of Mercia and sister of Edward the Elder.

Edward the Confessor endowed a priory church and school there but otherwise does not seem to have had connexions with the town. It lay during his reign in the part of the country ruled by the great Leofric Earl of Chester. The town came into its own after the Norman Conquest; the construction of the Castle in stone was commenced in 1068. Warwick was within the bishopric of Worcester and the bishop of Worcester is shown by the Domesday Book as one of the principal property owners there.

If we can accept that the coins are what they purport to be, namely, money, it is not necessary to seek in the events of the reign of Edward the Confessor (nor in that of Æthelred II) an occasion when the striking of such pieces might have been particularly appropriate; nor do we have to look for a date when payments to Rome were particularly likely. Such an occasion does in fact exist at a convenient date (1049) in Edward the Confessor's reign when the Pope in person held a synod at St. Remy at which Edward was represented and an Embassy was also sent to Rome, but, if the thesis of this paper is accepted, these facts are not relevant to Mr. Lockett's coin.

Since the above was written, now over a year ago, Mr. Blunt has made the exciting discovery of another gold penny in Switzerland. I have not attempted to alter the text of the paper to allow for this, but it may well be that in the light of it some of the views expressed require revision. From the other side of the world it seems wiser to leave that to those at home who have better opportunities for study.

D. F. A. (Hongkong)



ANGLO-SAXON GOLD COINS AND COGNATE SILVER

A GOLD PENNY OF EDWARD THE ELDER

By C. E. BLUNT

IN Brooke's *English Coins*, p. 50, mention is made of a gold coin of Edward the Elder in the Musée Cantonal at Lausanne as to the authenticity of which the author, by implication, expresses some doubt. The doubt was natural, for possibly Brooke knew the coin only from hearsay.

During a recent visit to Switzerland I had the opportunity to see this piece and to receive from the honorary curator, M. Colin Martin, by whose permission the piece is here reproduced, an offprint of a paper in which details of its provenance are set out.¹ The following is a description of the coin:

Obv. EADVVEARD REX ; in the centre a small cross.

Rev. DEORV/VALD MO, in two lines ; a trefoil above, three crosses between the lines and a single cross below.

Wt. 5.25 gm., or 81 grs. ; the coin is pierced (**Pl. fig. 6**).

The weight is wrongly given by Brooke as 70 grs., a weight that would correspond approximately to that of the Arab dinar.

The circumstances in which the coin was found are reported in a letter from M. Bujard, through whom the coin reached the Lausanne Museum, published in the paper referred to above. Appreciating the grave danger of forgery in a piece of this kind, M. Bujard wrote to place on record the following facts. The coin was found in March 1909 in a garden at Lutry, a village on the Lake of Geneva a few miles to the east of Lausanne. With it were found two other pieces, both pierced and said to be jetons of no value. Further particulars regarding them are lacking. The find was made by Madame Henry Noverraz. Monsieur Noverraz believed that the coin found its way into his garden when rubble from walls in his cellar was put there during repairs. The house in question is described as having belonged to a very old family of Lutry called Burnier. The finders are described as uneducated people who, even at the time the letter was written, had no idea of the value of what they had found, a fact that is further confirmed by their having parted with it for what is described as a modest sum.

From what has been said it will be seen that the evidence, as far as provenance is concerned, points strongly to the authenticity of the coin. On the numismatic side I have been given the following information. The coin was shown to Mr. L. Forrer, of Messrs. Spink and Son, Ltd., on the occasion of the Stroehlin sale in Geneva in November 1909, and he asked that it might be sent to London for submission to expert examination there. Mr. Forrer tells me that he

¹ *Revue Suisse de Numismatique*, vol. xix, 1914 ; the article in question is by M. A. de Molin.

himself had no doubt as to its authenticity, although he was not then aware of the details of its provenance, but that Mr. Grueber, to whom it was submitted at the British Museum, was not entirely satisfied, particularly as to the edge of the coin. It must be remembered that when expressing his doubts Mr. Grueber was not fully informed as to the coin's provenance.

A careful examination of the edge now shows it to be for the most part sharp, as one would expect on a genuine coin, but at one point there is a mark as if it had been slightly filed. If it is a cast, this might indicate the point of entry of the metal; if genuine, it might well result from the metal having been tested on a stone. This is likely enough to have been done to ascertain if it were gold or brass. The coin bears every sign of having been struck and not cast, and a slight flaking on the surface of the reverse is a feature that would seem unlikely to occur on a cast.

My own inclination on seeing the coin was to regard it as genuine, and the details of its provenance, which are now made available, must strongly support that view. One cannot presume to say what Mr. Grueber's views would have been had the full facts been known to him, but they would surely have gone far to allay the suspicions which so remarkable a coin not unnaturally aroused in his mind.

On my return from Switzerland I laid the facts I have set out before Mr. Derek Allen, who had been working on the later Anglo-Saxon gold in the light of the rediscovery of the gold penny of Edward the Confessor. His paper was by that time virtually complete and, as he was shortly due to leave for the Far East, he suggested that when it was read to the Society, I should at the same time read a note on the Lausanne coin and comment on the views expressed in his paper.

As he has explained, gold coins of the Anglo-Saxon period are, if one excludes the early thrymsa issues, confined to single specimens of Offa, Archbishop Wigmund, Æthelred II, and Edward the Confessor. Of what one may call the Middle Anglo-Saxon period no specimen has hitherto been known. The coin of Edward the Elder therefore fills an important gap in supplying evidence of an issue in gold, on however limited a scale, at this time. Mention should perhaps also be made of the possible existence of a gold coin of Alfred. The evidence for this is very slight, but comes from two distinct sources and may therefore have some foundation. For what use it may be to future numismatists, should the coin ever come to light, it may be useful to place it on record here.

In the margin of an old map of Gloucestershire I am informed there is a note to the effect that in a copse on the Hatherop Castle estate (near Fairford) there was found a gold coin of Alfred. I have inquired of the present owner, Sir Thomas Bazley, and of the descendant of the late owner, Lord de Mauley, but neither of them has ever heard of it. A letter to the local paper likewise produced no results. But Mr. Allen, to whom I spoke of the matter, tells me that, shortly after he joined the staff of the British Museum, a lady told him in the Coin Room

that there was in the possession of her family a gold coin of Alfred. He asked that the British Museum should be allowed to see it, but it was not shown in his time. So far as he knows, all record of the lady's name was destroyed with other papers when the Coin Room was burned. The evidence is slight enough, but it suggests the possibility that such a piece may in fact remain to be discovered.

To revert to the coin which is the subject of this paper, the moneyer Deorwald is known to have struck silver coins for Edward the Elder of both the portrait type and the type with the cross pattee in the centre on the obverse. A moneyer of the same name struck also for Alfred, including coins that bear the name of Canterbury,¹ and for Athelstan and Edmund.² In the latter reigns his coins bear no evidence as to their mint of origin. The name, not an uncommon one, is therefore struck over a minimum period of forty years, and it seems unlikely that one moneyer would have held office for so long. The Deorwald who struck for Alfred and Edward the Elder may, however, well be the same person, in which case the coins of the latter should probably be attributed to Canterbury. This is the view that was apparently held by Brooke, judging from a pencil note in his copy of the British Museum *Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Coins*.

In discussing the question whether these rare Anglo-Saxon gold coins could be regarded as struck for the purpose of paying Peter's Pence to Rome, Mr. Allen points out that the evidence of the two coins of Æthelred II and Edward the Confessor is against such an association.³ That they were struck at minor provincial mints and found locally supports this view. The evidence of the Edward the Elder coin, struck probably at one of the principal mints and found on the road to Rome, and of the Offa dinar, which may have been found in Rome itself, would, on the other hand, lend colour to the idea that they were Peter's Pence, provided other evidence were forthcoming that gold coins were used for that purpose. As Mr. Allen has pointed out, such further evidence is lacking and it would therefore be hazardous to propound the theory on the sole evidence of these few coins.

The assertion also, made on more than one occasion,⁴ that gold coins circulated freely in this country in later Anglo-Saxon times seems equally without substantiating evidence. In fact such evidence as there is points in the opposite direction. Cufic coins have occurred in a number of hoards, but in only one that I have traced is there a reference to their being of gold, and in this case they are described as fragments. It is noteworthy also that Sir John Evans when writing of this hoard makes no mention of the Cufic coins being of gold; this is only recorded in the *Victoria County History*.⁵ It seems unlikely that Sir John would have failed to mention so important and unusual

¹ *B.M.C.* ii, p. 19.

³ Above, p. 268.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 101 and 122.

⁴ *Brit. Num. Journ.* Vol. v, p. 61.

⁵ White Horse Manor Hoard, nr. Croydon, *Num. Chron.*, 1862, p. 302; *ibid.*, 1866, p. 233; *V.C.H., Surrey*, i, p. 273.

a feature, so that one must regard even this one piece of evidence as to Cufic gold being found in English hoards as open to grave suspicion.

Two Cufic coins, one a dinar of Hesham ben abd-el Malek (A.D. 724-743), are recorded as having been picked up on the sea-shore in Sussex,¹ but would seem more likely to have come from a shipwreck than from a domestic hoard.

The only other cases of gold coins of this period that I have found—and I am indebted to valuable notes of Mr. Anthony Thompson's for my hoard data—are a mention by Richard Fenton in his *Tours in Wales* (1804-13) that he "passed near the spot where skeletons were found, accompanied by Saxon coins, one of Edgar, one gold—all given to Mr. Hughes of Cymmel, who owns the whole territory round".² In a large find at Halton Moor, near Lancaster,³ buried c. 1030-40, reference is made to "6 pieces of stamped gold" which appear from the description to be Scandinavian bracteates. One can hardly, on such slender evidence, assume a free circulation of gold coins in Anglo-Saxon England.

I have gone into the matter in some detail because it is largely, though not entirely, on such an assumption that the case rests for regarding the few surviving Anglo-Saxon gold coins as evidence for the existence of a small circulation of gold currency issued in this country. In the absence of documentary or hoard evidence to support it, and in view of the demonstrably mono-metallic state of the currency in northern Europe as a whole at this time, this case, I feel, must fail. If it does so, it does not necessarily mean that the coins must be accepted as having been struck to pay Peter's Pence. This indeed is one possibility, though, as has been said, there is little enough evidence to support it.

Essentially these gold coins fall into two classes: the one struck from dies specially prepared, namely, the Offa and Wigmund coins; the other struck from the dies of the silver coinage. The first class must surely have some special significance. That it is not an economic or commercial one is suggested by the survival of no more than two unique specimens. That they may have been struck to impress a foreign potentate is in the case of Offa, from what we know of his character, not improbable. Whether Offa issued his dinar to show himself the equal of Charlemagne, with his gold coinage in Italy, or to impress his grandeur on the Pope, we shall probably never know.

It is possible that the coins struck from the penny dies may, as Mr. Allen suggests, have been issued for commercial purposes. But in this case it would seem more likely that they were intended for trade in the Mediterranean, where gold coin was current, than for circulation in this country.

To my mind the most satisfying explanation, and one that would account for all these issues, is to regard them as struck for a special

¹ *Num. Chron.* ix (1864-7), p. 85.

² *Arch. Cambr.*, 1917, p. 268.

³ *Archaeologia*, xviii (1815), pp. 199 ff.

purpose such as offering at shrines. The practice of offering gold coin in this way was widespread in the Near East at this time and resulted, as Professor Lombard has pointed out,¹ in the sterilization in the treasuries of the Syrian and Egyptian churches of a substantial portion of what should have constituted the medium of trade. In the West matters never reached such a pass, but the practice on a more limited scale may well have existed and documentary research in this direction might perhaps produce fruitful results.

If this theory proves correct it will not be necessary to seek to interpret the coins in terms of English pence.

Postscript.—While this paper was in the press a silver penny of Edward the Elder with the same obverse die as the gold penny has been found. It is in the British Museum and is illustrated (**Pl. fig. 7**). This should prove conclusively the authenticity of the gold coin.

¹ *Annales — Économies, Sociétés, Civilisation* (Paris, 1947), pp. 143 ff.

FOUR ITALIAN COINS IMITATING ANGLO-SAXON TYPES

By C. E. BLUNT

THE interrelations of coin-types as a result of trade is of course a regular feature in numismatic history. The four coins that form the subject of this paper seem more likely, however, to have originated from other causes. All are Italian; two struck at Lucca in Tuscany in the late eighth or early ninth centuries, two at Rome in the tenth century. I hope to show that the influence of Anglo-Saxon types in these cases is more likely to have arisen from religious considerations than from those of trade.

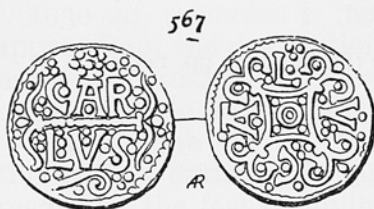


FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.

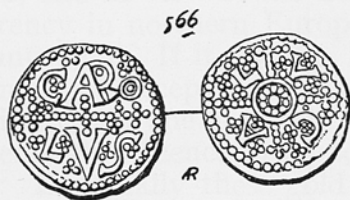


FIG. 3.



FIG. 4.

The first two coins are of Charlemagne, who after his defeat of Desiderius in 774 assumed the title of King of Italy. As will be seen, the first (Fig. 1) is an extremely close copy of a coin of his contemporary Offa by the moneyer Ahlmund (Fig. 2) as to both obverse and reverse types, though on Charlemagne's coin the king's name appears on what is the reverse of the English coin. Signore U. Monneret de Villard, who drew attention to the similarity of the two coins in the *Revista Ital. di Num.*,¹ records a specimen of the Charlemagne coin in the Museum at Brescia and the *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum* records one at Padua.² There can be little doubt that the Italian coin copies the English and not vice versa; the design is essentially Anglo-Saxon. Any remaining doubt, however, is dispelled by the fact that the Italian moneyer has regarded the final letter D of Ahlmund's name as part of the design of the coin, and copied it blindly on to his die.

¹ 1931.

² Vol. xi, p. 59, no. 12.

The second coin (Fig. 3), also of Charlemagne and struck at Lucca, is of the same general obverse type as the preceding coin with the king's name in two lines across the field with a bar between. A feature of these obverses, very characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon coinage and in no way so of the normal issues of Italy, is the liberal use of pellets to fill up the design in the field. The reverse copies quite closely a penny of Offa's, probably issued by the Bishop of London who died c. 787-9 (Fig. 4). There are specimens of this Lucca coin, essentially the same though differing in detail in the arrangement of the pellets, in the collection of the late King of Italy, the Vatican Museum, and the Fusco collection.¹

The two other coins to which I wish to draw attention are papal issues. Both bear the name of a Pope John and neither has the name



FIG. 5.



FIG. 6.

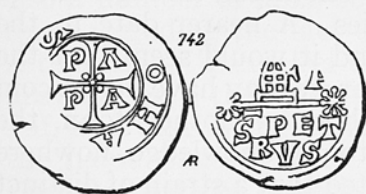


FIG. 7.



FIG. 8.

of the Emperor. A word should perhaps be said on the papal coinage at this time. From the time of Leo III, who was elected to the Papacy in 795, it was the custom for the names of both Pope and Emperor to appear on the coins. It will be appreciated that this has facilitated an accurate classification of the coins despite a fairly stabilized type and the recurrence of certain papal names. There are, however, certain rare coins on which the Emperor's name is omitted. These appear to have been struck either during imperial vacancies or at times when the Pope refused to give allegiance to the Emperor. These coins are more difficult to attribute with certainty, and as differences of opinion still exist on the subject, even among Italian numismatists, it is hoped that they may not consider it an impertinence on the part of a foreigner to attempt to offer some slight additional evidence that may help them to establish a definite classification.

The obverse of the first coin (Fig. 5) copies very closely one of

¹ C.N.I. xi. 59, nos. 9-11; *Revista Ital. di Num.* 1921.

the rare floral types that formed the reverse of coins of Edward the Elder (899-925) (Fig. 6). The reverse of the papal coins follows the Italian tradition. The second piece (Fig. 7) is less certainly a copy of an Anglo-Saxon type, but it seems likely to have been derived from the rare York coins of Æthelstan (925-39) which show the minster and the mint name in the upper part of the field and, below a line, the name of the moneyer (Fig. 8). The papal coin has a somewhat similar design with the name of St. Peter. The object above the line is, in the engraving given by Sambon¹ (from which the illustration is taken), of doubtful identification, but he describes it as a temple with a step below, which is no doubt what it is intended to represent. The coin was in his own collection.

I have been unable to find either of these coins in the monumental *Corpus* of the late King of Italy. This is particularly surprising in the case of the first coin as it is stated by Sambon to be represented by a unique specimen in His Majesty's collection.

The coin with the floral type is attributed by Sambon,² who follows Serafini, to Pope John XII and is treated as one of a small series issued by him without the Emperor's name between 955 and 962, this despite the fact that it omits the title *Dominus* which is found on the other coins of this series.³ If this attribution is correct, the original that was being copied was a coin that cannot have been issued less than thirty years earlier. The Roman coin bears all the signs of being a direct copy of the original type and not one made through one or more gradually degenerating intermediaries. A nearer date to the original would therefore seem probable, and it would seem that the possibility should be examined as to whether we may have here a coin of the imperial vacancy of 924-8 at which time another John, the tenth, was Pope. This floral type occurs, to my knowledge, nowhere else in the series, but it may perhaps be noted that a strain of distinct originality creeps at this stage into the otherwise fairly orthodox papal series. Other coins attributed by Italian numismatists to this imperial vacancy depict a city gate,⁴ a feature not found elsewhere in papal coins at the time and perhaps again indicating Anglo-Saxon influence.⁵

The second coin is attributed by Sambon to Pope John XI and the patrician Alberic (930-5), a date that conforms well enough with the original of Æthelstan (925-39) that it appears to copy.

Mention must be made of one further coin in the papal series on which foreign evidence may help in finding the correct attribution. It bears the name of Pope Leo and, like the coins just discussed, omits that of the Emperor. The coin, Sambon 758, is attributed by him to the Anti-Pope Leo VIII (963-5), an attribution that is accepted by the *C.N.I.* which notices the crudeness of the workmanship and suggests that the coins may have been struck in some city of the Patri-

¹ *Rep. Gen. delle Monete coniate in Italia*, Giulio Sambon, Paris, 1912, no. 742.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 121, no. 748.

³ *C.N.I.* xv. 92-3.

⁴ *C.N.I.* xv. 89.

⁵ Cf. *B.M.C.*, Pl. VIII, 13, 14.

mony of the Church independent of the Emperor at a time when Leo had to flee from Rome.¹

A specimen was found in the Delganey hoard, the deposit of which can be dated with reasonable certainty to *c.* 832 or 130 years before the time of Leo VIII. As Sir John Evans pointed out in his report on the hoard,² the evidence here supplied points very strongly to this being a coin of Leo III (795-814). This Pope was the first to couple the name of the Emperor with his own on the coinage. May it be that this coin was struck before the practice was inaugurated? These are questions that must be left to Italian numismatists for final decision.

We must now briefly consider the reasons for the appearance of these Anglo-Saxon coin-types on Italian coins at these two different periods. Trade, the normal cause of imitated coin-types, undoubtedly existed between the two countries, but were this the cause one might rather expect to find it reflected on the coins of the great commercial centres. Neither Rome nor Lucca falls into this category at this time. We have, on the other hand, abundant evidence of the pilgrim traffic to Rome and of the payment by the English Church of dues to the Holy See. There were two main pilgrimage routes to Rome, the one through Germany, the other across the Great St. Bernard Pass. These converge at Piacenza and pass through Lucca on their way to Rome. Signore U. Monneret de Villard, who makes this point in the paper to which reference has been made, mentions also a number of links between Lucca and England in Anglo-Saxon times including the fact that in 782 the priest Magniprando sold to Ætheltruda, "*Saxa Dei ancilla filia Adelwadi qui fuit rex Saxonum ultramarino*", the church of St. Dalmazio where she established herself, and that in the eighth and the beginning of the ninth centuries the name Saxo or Saxa occurs fairly frequently as a surname in Lucca. That the material from which copies could have been made was likely to have been available locally is suggested by the presence of two coins of Offa in the Ilanz hoard (Switzerland), another from Baggiovara near Modena, and the fact that his famous gold dinar was first bought in Rome. Similarly coins of Edward the Elder have been found in Italy, and it will be remembered that his unique gold penny was found by the Lake of Lausanne on the road to Rome. Thus it would seem probable that it was the religious traffic, whether in the form of pilgrims or of payments to the Holy See, that provided the originals from which these interesting copies arose.

In conclusion I must thank Mr. Lockett, who drew my attention to Signore Monneret de Villard's valuable article on the two coins of Charlemagne, and to Mr. Derek Allen, who first pointed out to me the two papal coins.

¹ *C.N.I.* xv. 95.

² *N.C.T.S.* ii. 78.

THE LAST SHORT-CROSS ISSUE OF HENRY III (CLASS 8)

By F. ELMORE JONES

Two unpublished late Short-Cross coins have recently come to light which to my mind prove conclusively that Class 8¹ is correctly placed at the end of the series covering the period of roughly 1242-7 during the reign of Henry III.

As it has recently been suggested that the coins of this class may fit the period of 1215-17 at the close of the reign of John, when London was in the hands of the insurgent barons and the king himself had fled the capital, I feel that the evidence afforded by these two new coins may justify a short paper on the subject; also some remarks on Class 8 generally. As several coins are illustrated in these notes I do not intend to take up time by a description of types 7 and 8 of the L. A. Lawrence classification of the Short-Cross series, and I propose to pass straight on to a discussion of the two unpublished coins figured below.



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.

I think it certain that neither was known to Dr. Lawrence at the time of the publication of his classification and neither is represented in his own extensive collection; nor is there a specimen of either in the British Museum. The first of these two coins (Fig. 1) is a very late Class 7c of Bury St. Edmunds by the moneyer John. Hitherto this moneyer has only been known in Class 8.

It will be remembered that the evidence of the one-moneyer mint of Bury played a vital part in the 'build-up' of Dr. Lawrence's classification and that the author was the first to identify the moneyer John of the Bury Short-Cross coins of Class 8 with the John of the early Long-Cross coins of St. Edmundsbury, thus for the first time linking up the two series. This new type 7 coin forms the missing link at the other end of the chain and connects Class 8 with Class 7 through the incidence of this moneyer's name. It also indicates that *all* the moneyers known to have been striking in Class 8 also struck in Class 7; hitherto Bury has been the only exception in this respect.

The second coin (Fig. 2) is perhaps an even more conclusive piece of evidence that Class 8 followed Class 7 and is a mule of the two

¹ Of the classification made by L. A. Lawrence, *Brit. Num. Journ.*, xi. 59 ff.

types 7/8. Short-Cross mules are rare and are usually difficult to identify with certainty because of the gradual fading of one class into another. In this instance the entirely different lettering of the two classes plus the different initial cross on the reverse (i.e. mint-mark) made detection fairly easy.

The reverse of this coin is a very early Class 8 die with m.m. cross pommée which well shows the distinctive lettering of the type.



FIG. 3.



FIG. 4.



FIG. 5.



FIG. 6.

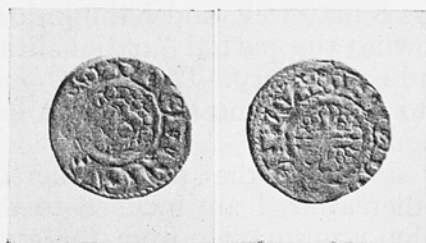


FIG. 7.

This is an open form of the letters **C** and **€**, a peculiar **h**, quite a different **S** from that of Class 7 and a different letter **N** having the uprights curved inwards in the middle. This distinctive lettering is even better shown on the next coin (Fig. 3), a very early Class 8 on which the open **C** and **€** are clearly shown. Compare these two letters with those found on Class 7c which are exaggeratedly closed—the form of the **X** in **REX** is also different in the two classes and is another aid in the detection of muling.

The coins figured above as Nos. 3–7 are Class 8 coins which well show the characteristics of the type. No. 3 should be specially noted, being an example of the excessively rare Class 8 with m.m. cross

pattée. This coin is in Mr. Fred Baldwin's collection and I am grateful to him for permission to illustrate it. It shows the Long-Cross form of **X** in **REX** particularly well—also the important feature of the good style and engraving (modelled on Class 5) of the earliest coins of Class 8. Dr. Lawrence hardly does sufficient justice to this feature and Brooke ignores it entirely; the latter's description of the class as "Very degraded; portrait is a travesty of human features with round staring eyes and heavy beard of long lines" only really fits the coin Fig. No. 7 which is illustrated to show the final stage of degradation of style to which the type descends.

It is difficult to assess the rarity of the cross pattée variety which, to distinguish it from the main group of cross pommée coins, should perhaps be labelled 8A. This is the only specimen I recollect having seen, but others must exist and were known to Dr. Lawrence when he wrote that the mint-mark on the earliest varieties of Class 8 "is still a cross pattée but this is not long retained and a cross pommée soon takes its place".

Dr. Lawrence does not, however, illustrate the variety, which is surprising considering the excellence and fullness of his plates. By reason of this omission the variety has long been something of a puzzle to students of the series.

I am left with the impression, however, that Dr. Lawrence is hardly justified in saying that gradual alteration can be traced from Class 7 to Class 8. Class 5 certainly fades imperceptibly into Class 6, which in turn does likewise into Class 7, but Class 4, of course, does not fade into Class 5, nor I think does Class 7 fade into Class 8. As is well known, Class 5 represents a new coinage following certain important events of 1205; Class 8 may well, and I think does in fact, represent a new coinage following the partial "nationalization" of the royal mints of London and Canterbury. These were put in the sole charge of Nichole de Sancto Albano, who assumed an exceptional appointment at both mints in 1242.

Despite Brooke's statement that a few other moneyers struck at *both* mints shortly thereafter, I am inclined to think that Nichole's jurisdiction at London was supreme from the start. At Canterbury, however, the Archbishop may well have had a say in the matter as both William and John continued as moneyers there, jointly with Nichole, until quite late in the type as evidenced by the stage of degradation reached by some of their coins, and possibly continuously throughout the duration of Class 8.

I have seen Class 8 coins of the following moneyers, and this list may well be a complete one:

Bury:	John.
Canterbury:	John and William, Nichole.
London:	Nichole.

Nichole continued as moneyer at both the royal mints in the earliest Long-Cross issues, as did John at St. Edmundsbury.

I should like to say a few words about the main characteristics of 8B (i.e. cross-pommée m.m.) coins. As Dr. Lawrence observes, three forms of the letter **X** (in **REX**) are found, but his descriptions are hardly adequate, and curiously enough the evidence of all the coins I have seen is that the Long-Cross form of letter comes *first* and *not* last as he infers.

I consider the order to be:

1. The "Long-Cross" letter (Figs. 3 and 4). This is the letter found on Mr. Baldwin's cross-pattée coin and those having it show the least deterioration in style.
2. The wedge-shaped letter (Fig. 5). This letter bears a superficial resemblance (but little else) to the St. Andrew's cross form of the letter found on Class 5c. These coins show a gradual but marked deterioration in style.
3. The cross-pommée letter (Figs. 6 and 7). These coins start off by showing the least fineness and certainly the greatest deterioration of style. Incidentally they are more plentiful than those with the other two forms of letter.

In connexion with the Long-Cross form of **X** it is interesting to note that another Long-Cross feature occurs unexpectedly early in the Short-Cross Series, viz. a pellet-barred **N** which is found on some early coins of Class 7.

Again the Long-Cross feature of a horizontal bar to the letters **N** and **M** crops up fairly frequently in Class 7 but only occasionally in Class 8.

In the matter of punctuation Class 8 follows much the same general pattern as Class 7. There is no uniformity in the use (or absence) of stops, but the curious feature of either 1, 2, or 3 pellets is introduced and is used for the purpose. The earliest and the latest reverse readings show the general Class 7 feature of no stops at all; the unusual feature of three stops occurs on coins of moderately good style, but there seems to be no hard-and-fast rule.

The Bury coins conform generally to those of the two royal mints; they are very rare, but at least five pairs of dies are known. It has been suggested that the issue was too small to cover the five or six years from 1242 to 1247, but the number of London dies known does not seem to be inconsistent with such a period. One must take into account the circumstance that the two principal Short-Cross hoards which have come to light (i.e. Colchester and Eccles) appear to have been deposited shortly after the close of Class 7.

It will be noted that the Short-Cross coins of Rhuddlan which Dr. Lawrence assigned to Classes 7 and 8 are excluded from consideration herein. It is certain that these coins are not part of the regular English series and good evidence has recently been adduced for their removal from this period to that of the Welsh wars of King John's reign some thirty years earlier.

I append a list of the seven coins figured here in illustration of these notes:

Class 7c + **IOAN ON SANTI**—Bury. Unpublished moneyer for Class 7 (Fig. 1).

Mule 7/8 + **NICHOLAS ON LVN**—London (Fig. 2).

Class 8 + **NICHOLAS ON LVN** m.m. cross pattée. Compare lettering with rev. of no. 2. Long-Cross form of **X** in **REX** (Fig. 3).

Class 8. Same reading as no. 1, but cross-pommée m.m. Long-Cross form of **X** (Fig. 4).

Three typical Class 8's each reading as no. 2 with or without punctuation.

Wedge-shaped **X**. : stops. (Fig. 5.)

Cross pommée **X** (Fig. 6).

Similar **X** and portrait described by Brooke as being typical of the class (Fig. 7).

THE COINAGES OF EDWARD IV AND OF HENRY VI (RESTORED)

By C. E. BLUNT and C. A. WHITTON

Continued from p. 182

HENRY VI, RESTORATION COINAGE

THE coinage of Henry VI during his restoration has already been examined, first by Walters in *Num. Chron.*, 1910, pp. 117 ff., secondly, though summarily, by Brooke in *English Coins*, and more recently, save for the provincial silver, by Mr. D. F. Allen in *Num. Chron.*, 1937, pp. 28 ff. We feel, however, that no apology is needed for further referring to this coinage, partly because it is clearly inseparable from that of Edward IV, and partly because it affords an opportunity of summarizing the additional knowledge on the subject gained in the last few years.

For many years numismatists have discussed the question of the precise point at which Henry VI's light coinage interrupts that of Edward IV. We think there can be little doubt that Mr. Allen is right in regarding the last coins struck by Edward before his deposition as those with I.M. Long Cross Fitchy which omit the ornamental trefoils beside the bust. We recall that the starting-point for that view is the absence of mules between coins with initial marks Long Cross Fitchy and Short Cross Fitchy. It seems likely that the reign of Henry VI intervened to forestall such muling.

The following denominations are known:

Gold

London angel and half-angel, with **h** and a **Lis** on the reverse (Pl. XIV, 1 and 10).

Bristol angel (Pl. XIV, 2) and half-angel, similarly marked on the reverse; they have also a **B** in the waves.

Silver

London groat, half-groat (Pl. XIII, 1), penny (Pl. XII, 16), and halfpenny.

York groat (Pl. XII, 10) and half-groat (Pl. XIII, 9).

York ecclesiastical penny (Pl. III, 23).

Bristol groat (Pl. XII, 11) and halfpenny (Pl. XII, 15).

It will be seen that missing pieces which we might have expected to find and which may one day turn up include gold coins and a half-penny of York, and a half-groat and penny of Bristol.

The London angels are scarce but not rare. Mr. Allen in a close and interesting analysis has traced the stages of their development showing that they were almost certainly the first angels to be struck after

the early experimental coins of Edward IV. He also adduces certain evidence of the lettering, and while in the main his contentions are correct, the facts on which he relies may bear some restatement. They are as follows: on two obverse dies only the lettering of the groat fount was used; on these therefore the B-like R, R5 is found¹. This experiment was then abandoned, and on all other obverse dies and on all reverse dies the smaller fount of the half-groats was used.

The majority of the coins show trefoil stops on both sides: saltires rarely appear on gold coins of this reign: on one or two reverse dies pellet stops are found either alone or supplementing the trefoils, a vagary that is found also on a Bristol die. The nimbus of the angel and half-angel is ornamented with a cross. In the illustration of one angel die (*Num. Chron.*, 1937, Pl. iv, die H, *ex* Parsons 373, also illustrated) the cross seems to have been altered to a trefoil, with possibly some privy significance. The half-angel is seldom seen; on some reverse dies the *h* and Lis appear not in the usual place but on either side of the shield.

The Bristol angels too are among the well-known rarities of our coinage: those which bear an initial mark (on the reverse only) have small trefoils in the field below the *h* and lis on the reverse. On the unique half-angel there was room for only one of these objects, which was placed below the lis. This coin was described and illustrated in our *Journal*, vol. xxiii, p. 154. The peculiarities of the reverse, the single trefoil in the field and the reading *SPÆA* for *SPAS*, are repeated, somewhat curiously, on one London die.

As with Edward's quarter-ryals, there are rare angels and halves with I.M. Lis, tempting us to assign them to York: it is, however, agreed that the more prudent course is to attribute them to London and continue the search for coins with the letter *A* in the waves.

Fuller details of individual coins are given in Mr. Allen's lists and more concisely in our own synopsis of them.

All the silver coins copy closely the coins of Edward with I.M. Long Cross Fitchy: they show no ornaments beside the bust; the cusp ornaments are the small trefoils; the lettering is identical. The groats of London are the only coins at all abundant, the York groats are less so, and those of Bristol scarce. The small coins are all rare.

A remarkable feature of the London groats is that in the brief period of seven months no fewer than four different initial marks were used. There are two obverse marks, the Cross Patty and the Restoration Cross, and four reverse marks, the Lis, the Cross Patty, the Short Cross Fitchy, and the Restoration Cross. Each obverse mark is found with each of the four reverse marks. Some new system of privy-marking was apparently devised at the Mint, but its precise nature remains a matter of conjecture. No analysis of the various combinations has yet produced a convincing exposition of the chronology of these marks. We may suppose the Restoration Cross to be late since it is found on the reverse of a London groat with an obverse of Ed-

¹ See pull-out plate at end.

ward's second reign. The provincial coins afford no clue since, although similar muling between dies of Henry and Edward takes place at both York and Bristol, the reverse initial marks are different, at Bristol the Rose and at York the Lis. Mr. Allen's opinion, based partly on the evidence of the lettering, the early and late I's, was that on the obverse the Cross Patty came first, and on the reverse the order was probably Lis, Short Cross Fitchy, Restoration Cross, and Cross Patty. The stops are trefoils or saltires, with an occasional pellet, or fleur-de-lis.

A similarly complicated system of initial marks is found on Bristol groats. On the obverse two marks are again found, the Restoration Cross and the Trefoil: on the reverse, four, Rose, Trefoil, Restoration Cross, and Short Cross Fitchy. On York groats the Lis only is found on the obverse, but the Sun also appears on some reverses. There is every likelihood, as Walters suggests, that these are old reverse dies of Edward IV brought economically into service once more. Since the Sun was so closely associated with Edward IV we may suppose perhaps that it was done at some hazard.

A new instance of die-identity has recently come to light at York. Two groats struck from the same reverse die with I.M. Lis are now known, one coupled with an obverse of Henry VI and the other with an obverse of Edward IV (Pl. XII, 12 and 13).

The London half-groat has for initial mark the Restoration Cross, often omitted on the reverse. The York half-groat has the Lis on both sides with α on the king's breast; the Lis is the large emblem used for the groats, not the smaller mark that is found on York half-groats of Edward's first reign.

The London pence show either I.M. Restoration Cross with the characteristic $\text{h}\alpha\text{R}\text{R}\text{I}\text{C}\text{V}$ of so many of the groats or I.M. Cross Patty with $\text{h}\alpha\text{R}\text{R}\text{I}\text{C}$.

The London halfpenny shows the I.M. Short Cross Fitchy and that of Bristol a cross which is perhaps the same mark or possibly a Restoration Cross (characterized by a broad foot). They are very seldom seen. The only ecclesiastical piece, curiously rare compared with the parallel piece of Edward IV, is Neville's York penny with \mathfrak{G} and Key beside the bust and a quatrefoil in the centre of the reverse. The adaptable archbishop, since he contrived successfully to retain his office under both kings, is a fitting person to introduce us once more to the coins of King Edward.

EDWARD IV, SECOND REIGN, 1471-83

The restorations of Henry and Edward had no very profound effect at the mints of the kingdom. No two rulers show a closer resemblance to the money of their predecessors than did these two kings on their respective reappearances in October 1470 and April 1471. The explanation is probably simple: in each case the immediate issue of money in the new king's name was of more importance than reform or innovation: so that now, in April 1471, except for the change in the

king's name everything proceeded exactly as before. The mints which were active continued their activity with as little departure as possible from the normal routine. Whenever it was practicable already existing material continued to be utilized: reverse dies of Henry were used for groats at London, Bristol, and York: old puncheons were retained, for instance, those of the king's portrait, and the unchanging Lis as the initial mark at York. When change was necessary it was made as expeditiously as possible. Thus, at Bristol the Rose, at London the Short Cross Fitchy, which in Henry's time had appeared on the reverse only of groats, were adopted for the obverse also, where they now provided the requisite new pyx-mark. In style, fabric, and lettering the coins which cover the transfer of the crown are identical.

The existing coins of Edward's second reign are:

Royal Mints

Angels and half-angels of London.

Angels of Bristol.

Groats, half-groats, pence, and halfpence of London.

Groats, half-groats, and (a new discovery) pence of Bristol.

Groats and half-groats of York.

Half-groats, pence, and halfpence of Canterbury.

Ecclesiastical Mints

Pence of Durham and York.

Halfpence of Durham.

Missing coins which may one day turn up include gold coins and a halfpenny of York, and a half-angel of Bristol.

The Silver Coins, 1471-83

The silver is described before the gold for the sake of its greater variety. All types are represented by the groats but not by the angels; the groats therefore are likely to provide a more complete view of the coinage.

The silver coins of the second reign, apart from groats of types XV and XIX, broadly proclaim the period to which they belong by the absence of ornaments beside the bust. Another notable feature of the groats of the second reign is the greater frequency of muling; in fact between types XVI and XX muled groats are as common as true coins. If the latter are not so fully illustrated as the groats of the first reign it is partly because mules can effectively display the characteristics of two types and partly for reasons of some necessary economy.

Groats

There are at least eleven distinct and different issues of groat during these years: we have numbered them continuously from the first reign, types XII to XXII. All were issued from the London mint but only one or two from the provinces, since both Bristol and York had

closed down by 1472. The coins may be illustrated by the following table, discounting mules:

Type	London	Bristol	York
XII	Short Cross Fitchy	Rose	Lis
XIII	Large Annulet/Trefoil	—	—
XIV	Small Annulet	Sun; Small An'let	—
XV	⊙	—	—
XVI	⦿ (variants + and ⊕)	—	—
XVII	Pierced Cross (1st variety)	—	—
XVIII	Pierced Cross and one pellet	—	—
XIX	Pierced Cross (2nd variety)	—	—
XX	Pierced Cross and central pellet	—	—
XXI	Cinquefoil	—	—
XXII	Sun and Rose dimidiated	—	—

Type XII. The initial mark is the Short Cross Fitchy on both sides. The position of these coins as the first of Edward's second reign can now be regarded as certain. The evidence of muling with a reverse die of Henry VI which was noted in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1937, Pl. v, is corroborative but not entirely conclusive, since a London groat with obverse I.M. Small Annulet is also known muled with a reverse die of Henry VI. The muling, however, with other issues of Edward and the lettering, to which reference has been made on p. 24, establish the position of the Short Cross Fitchy beyond any reasonable doubt.

The coins resemble very closely those of Henry VI, having small trefoils, similarly varied in position, on the cusps, and also trefoil or saltire stops. The type is not rare and is found extensively muled: both ways with type XIII (Pl. XII, 1) and also with a reverse of XIV. The characteristic shape of this Cross which, as Brooke noted, distinguishes it from the shorter variants of the Long Cross Fitchy, lies in the somewhat blunted foot.

There are both Bristol and York groats of this type. The Bristol groats have I.M. Rose on both sides, on the obverse trefoil or mixed stops and on the reverse saltires. They have small trefoils on the cusps but none over the crown. The only reverse dies known are both probably, and one certainly, of Henry VI, each distinctive in reading **WILLUW**, altered to **VILLUW** by stamping two saltires over the first stroke of the **W**. The lettering includes A3 on both sides. In addition mules are known with two different reverses of type XIV; one with I.M. Small Annulet (Pl. XII, 14), and the other with no initial mark but a saltire before **POSVI**. These reverses both show A4.

The York groat, the last struck by Edward at that mint, has I.M. Lis on both sides (Pl. XII, 13). Here, too, coins are found with a reverse of Henry VI. There are small trefoils on all cusps except above the crown. The lettering shows A3 on both sides.

Type XIII. This type has obverse I.M. Large Annulet, reverse Trefoil. It is rather unusual in reviving the practice of combining two

initial marks. Although extensively muled its identity is beyond question, since the Large Annulet is never found on a reverse die and the Trefoil never on an obverse. There is, too, a notable innovation in the stops on the obverse, which are annulets, their only appearance, except for the parallel half-groats, during Edward's reign. One unusual die has the annulets in the body of the legend but ends it with a saltire.

The cusp ornaments are again small trefoils. The type is not common, but muling occurs both ways with type XIV (Pl. XII, 2), and as we have seen, with an obverse of type XII. In the lettering all coins of types XII and XIII show A₃.

Type XIV. The initial mark is the Small Annulet on both sides. It is a fairly common type; the variation of the trefoils on the cusps is wide, and both saltire and trefoil stops are known. One obverse die, reminiscent of the groat of XIII mentioned above, has trefoil stops in the body of the obverse legend but ends it with two saltires. On the reverse the stops are often omitted. Muling occurs, as we have seen, both ways with type XIII and with a reverse of XV. The lettering almost always shows A₄, but A₃ is also known.

Bristol coins are also known of this type. They show various combinations of initial marks: (a) obverse, Sun, reverse, Small Annulet, with saltire stops or none; (b) Small Annulet on both sides, with trefoil stops; (c) Small Annulet on obverse only, also with trefoil stops; (d) Sun both sides recorded in the Walters Sale 1932, 347. All the coins we know show A₄ on obverse and reverse. In this connexion it may be remarked that the Sun-marked reverses of this type differ from similar reverses of Edward's first reign in the lettering: groats of the first reign show A₃ or an earlier A.

All have small trefoils on the cusps of the tressure, but sub-types (b) and (c) show the ornaments over the crown also. These were the last Bristol groats of Edward, and the mint now closed down until the reign of Henry VIII.

Type XV. The initial mark is the Annulet-with-pellet on both sides. The type, which inaugurates several important changes, may be divided into two sub-types, *a* and *b*. The earliest coins of XV*a* (Pl. XII, 3), except for the initial mark, are similar to their predecessors; later ones replace the small trefoils on the cusps by larger ones (see drawings, Fig. 6), which moreover are placed on all the cusps. In the course of the issue the legend is changed from **DI** to **DEI GRÆ**. Type XV*b* incorporates these two changes and adds a third by showing a rose on either side of the king's bust (Pl. XII, 4). The earlier type, XV*a*, without the conspicuous roses, is the rarer of the two, but neither is common. Both show saltire stops—trefoils now finally disappear. Mules are few, limited to that which we have just noticed with an obverse of type XIV.

Type XVI. This type produces further innovations. The characteristic initial mark is the Cross with a pellet in each angle (✦), but

another mark is a plain unpierced cross (PI. XII, 6). Sometimes dies of the previous issue are used by striking this plain cross over the initial mark to produce an object like a four-spoked wheel (⊕) (PI. XII, 5). On groats this mark has been found on the reverse only. A change was also made in the lettering by the introduction of a chevron-barred A into both obverse and reverse legends, on the former in **ANGL**, and on the latter in **TAS**. This was to become a permanent feature of the coinage of groats almost until the end of the reign. The new features of the previous type, the large trefoils on all cusps, and the reading **DEI GRN** were retained. The stops are small crosses, that is, nominally saltires, but they are not usually placed in the saltire position. The coins are all rather uncommon, those with Cross-over-Annulet rare. The type is found muled both ways with XVII.

Type XVII. The initial mark is the Pierced Cross alone on both sides. This fact is of some importance, for the Pierced Cross is used again later as an initial mark, but as we shall see by then the fleurs on the cusps, the legend, and the lettering will all be different. The stops are saltires, and the cusps over the crown are sometimes fleured and sometimes not. The type is a fairly common one and is found muled both ways with XVI and XVIII.

Type XVIII. The later coins of this issue are among the commonest of the reign. The initial mark is a Pierced Cross and pellet in one of three quarters—never in the second (upper right hand). The type is remarkable for several innovations. The earliest coins, with the pellet in the upper left-hand quarter (+), which we have called XVIIIa, repeat the style, legend, and lettering of the previous type: that is, they have large trefoils on the tressure, read **DEI**, and still show the B-like R (R5). But then—in the type we have called XVIIIb—the pellet was placed in one of the two lower quarters of the initial cross, while at the same time the legend was changed to **DI GRN** and a completely new fount was devised introducing carefully drawn letters of excellent proportions. They include R6 and two especially ornamental letters, the “pot-hook” **π** and **v** illustrated in the drawings, which occur irregularly and unpredictably on the obverse and in the outer legend of the reverse. These letters presumably had some privy significance. For a very short time after the introduction of this new fount, however, the old B-like R survived, alone among the old letters, and is sometimes found associated with R6 on the same die.

There were other new features too in this type. Large fleurs similar to those found on the early coins of the first reign (Fig. 4 in the drawings) were placed on the cusps of the tressure: they were omitted on the breast and above the crown. These fleurs were to be a fixture: trefoils on the cusps of groats never appear again.

In the legend two more changes remain to be noticed: a new copula was made for the obverse having a transverse bar, and on the reverse a striking addition was made to the stops by the sporadic introduction of roses and suns. They usually appear in the outer legend, but on one

die (with no initial mark) there is a rose in the inner legend also. The precise significance of these objects, apart from the compliment implied to the king, can only be surmised. Their position in the legend seems so varied as to defy any possible analysis. It will be noticed that while roses appear in the reverse legends of subsequent issues, the sun is confined to this one type.

The initial marks include combinations of all known positions of the pellet, the most usual being \ddagger on the obverse, with \ddagger on the reverse. The coins are extensively muled: XVIIIa both ways with XVII and XVIIIb; XVIIIb both ways also with XVII, XIX, and XX.

Type XIX. The initial mark is a Pierced Cross on both sides as on type XVII, but now there are also pellets beside the bust, and large fleurs instead of trefoils on the cusps. The legend reads **DI GRN** and of course the lettering shows the new fount. Roses but no suns appear in the reverse legend: a further variation is the introduction of an extra pellet in two opposite quarters of the reverse. On some dies there is a pellet in one quarter only. The stops are the usual saltires, and there are no fleurs on the breast or over the crown. The coins are muled frequently with contiguous issues—both ways with types XVIIIb and XX (Pl. XII, 7 and 8); one rare piece, received too late for inclusion in the plates, shows an obverse of type XXI, with I.M. Cinquefoil.

Type XX. The initial mark is a Pierced Cross with a pellet in the centre.¹ The lettering, the fleuring, and the legend are the same as before, but on the obverse there are no stops at all. Only one type of reverse is known, with a rose after **DAVM**. The coins are not very common. They are muled with type XIX both ways, but not apparently with XXI.

Type XXI. This is the most plentiful of all the types of Edward's second reign. The initial mark is the Heraldic Cinquefoil on both sides, including a small and somewhat rose-like variant. Once more there are innovations to be recorded: the king's breast is always adorned with a rose; the cusp ornaments are as before, but a few obverse dies show fleurs over the crown also; the pellet which had given such useful distinction to previous issues was once more called into service and placed occasionally beside the initial mark on the reverse, and on the reverses of this description an additional pellet appears in one quarter (Pl. XII, 9). The lettering and the legend are the same as before, but on some dies, both obverse and reverse, all A's are found chevron-barred. There is a solitary addition to the lettering in the appearance of a distinctive R with a clean diagonal cut across the foot (R7), but this type is the last to show the "pot-hook" **π** and **υ** already referred to.

The stops are saltires, and the roses, but no suns, appear not only on

¹ When worn this initial mark is easily confused with that of type XIX.

the reverse with some profusion but on a few rare obverse dies also. Their presence there is apt to go unnoticed from being unsuspected. A curious feature of all denominations of this type is that the silver coins are so rarely found muled with any other. A single instance only has been recorded; it occurs in the groats. In the Grantley Sale a groat with obverse I.M. Cinquefoil showed a reverse with initial mark almost certainly the Pierced Cross of type XIX; there were extra pellets in two quarters.

Type XXII. The initial marks are Sun-and-Rose dimidiated on both sides. The legends and cusp ornaments are the same as on XXI except that there is a fleur on the breast, though on what is probably the latest variety this is omitted. The stops are saltires and the legend as before reads **DI GRÆ**. On some groats the pellet which had served some privy purpose on the last four issues was again brought into use and placed beneath the king's bust.

The type is one of the well-known rarities of the English coinage and has usually been attributed to Edward V. The reasons for assigning it to Edward IV and for assigning to Edward V only those groats with I.M. Boar's Head on the obverse have been given in detail in Vol. XXII of this *Journal* (pp. 213 ff.). They have been recapitulated also in Vol. XXIV (p. 175) in an article dealing with the links between Edward IV, Edward V, and Richard III. The essential point to note is that on groats reading **EDWARD** the obverse I.M. Boar's Head occurs only stamped over a Sun-and-Rose. The reverse dies, as is well known, show Sun-and-Rose only.

The lettering on groats of type XXII is generally the same as on the Cinquefoil groats of XXI, but some puncheons, notably **U**, **R**, and unbarred **A** are new. The barred **A**'s on the obverse, moreover, are no longer confined to the word **ANGL**; these letters are either all barred or all unbarred. In this respect, as we have already pointed out, they obey the following pattern (and the same rule governs groats of Edward V with obverse I.M. Boar's Head, being, as they are, struck from old dies with a new initial mark): those with a pellet below the bust have the **A**'s unbarred on the obverse, those without a pellet have the **A**'s barred. There are a few rare exceptions which have no pellet and all **A**'s on the obverse unbarred. These coins are further exceptional in having no fleur on the breast; they are probably the latest since they thus resemble groats of Richard III which also show the breast unadorned. All the groats, as we have seen, have the **A** barred in **CIVITAS** except a coin in the British Museum illustrated in our Volume XXII (loc. cit.). This was perhaps just an oversight. Another coin shows perhaps a similar error in having the **A** barred in **ADIVTORE** also.

Half-groats

As usual, coins of this denomination were not issued anything like so abundantly as the groats. In their general pattern they follow

the initial marks of the groats, but there are a good many gaps, as may be seen from the table below.

<i>Type</i>	<i>London</i>	<i>Bristol</i>	<i>York</i>	<i>Canterbury</i>
XII	SCF/—	Rose/SCF	Lis	—
XIII	Large Annulet/Rose	—	—	—
XIV	Small Annulet or o/—	—	—	—
XV	o/Rose	—	—	—
XVI	⊕/⊕ or ⊕/—	—	—	—
XVIII ^b	†/† or †/†	—	—	Rose
XIX	—	—	—	Rose
XX	—	—	—	Rose
XXI	Cinquefoil	—	—	LCF/Cinquefoil
XXII	Sun-and-Rose	—	—	—

Type XII. A London coin of this type has only recently come to light. It has the I.M. Short Cross Fitchy on the obverse only; there are small trefoils on the cusps but none over the crown. There are no stops and the reverse may possibly be struck from a die of Henry VI without initial mark (**Pl. XIII, 2**).

There are Bristol and York coins also of this issue. Both are rare and both are the only representatives of their mint during this reign. The Bristol coin is interesting as showing the mint-letter on the breast: it has obverse I.M. Rose and reverse Short Cross Fitchy, small trefoils on the cusps, except above the crown, and trefoil stops on the obverse only (**Pl. XIII, 8**). The York coin has I.M. Lis on both sides, a small trefoil on the breast as on the other cusps, but none over the crown. It has trefoil stops on the obverse only. Both this and the Bristol coin were assigned by Brooke to the first reign.

Type XIII. This type is represented at London by rare coins with the Large Annulet as the obverse initial mark, but the Rose instead of the Trefoil of the groats on the reverse (**Pl. XIII, 3**). Like the groats, the coins have annulet stops on the obverse: there are none on the reverse. The cusps have small trefoils except over the crown. There are mules, equally rare, with an obverse of type XIV, which of course also has an Annulet, but smaller, as the initial mark. The annulet stops, however, provide a sure guide to the true nature of the obverse.

Type XIV. The initial mark is the Small Annulet on both sides or on the obverse only. These (and perhaps those of type XXI) are the only London half-groats of the second reign which are not rare, but even so are not abundant. The cusp ornaments are the same as the previous issue, small trefoils, with none over the crown. Some coins omit the initial mark on the reverse. The stops on the obverse now change to saltires: there are none on the reverse. The mule already mentioned with the Rose-marked reverse of XIII is the only one known.

Type XV. The initial mark is the Annulet-with-pellet on obverse and Rose on reverse (**Pl. XIII, 4**). The cusp ornaments are the same

as before, and saltire stops, or none, are found on the reverse only. As with the groats, the reading **DEI GRN** is now introduced in the legend. The coin is extremely rare.

We have just seen that the Rose occurs as the reverse initial mark on type XIII also. But the present reverses sometimes show a different lettering from those of type XIII, identical moreover with the present obverses. The obverse and reverse dies are thus contemporary and the coins true coins. The rose is probably to be regarded somewhat differently from other marks, and liable, as a royal badge, to turn up at any time. This is peculiarly true at the York and Durham ecclesiastical mints and later in the reign at the royal mint at Canterbury.

Type XV is not found muled with other issues.

Type XVI. The I.M. Cross with four pellets (✚) does not occur. The known specimens have Cross over Annulet-with-pellet (⊕) both sides or on obverse only. The coins are otherwise precisely similar to those of Type XV, read **DEI**, and have the same cusp ornaments. There are no stops. There are, however, mules—both ways, including the reverse with no I.M., with type XVIII*b* with Pierced Cross and a pellet in one of the two lower quarters (**Pl. XIII, 5**).

Type XVII, with I.M. Pierced Cross, is at present unknown.

Type XVIII is represented by XVIII*b* only. The initial mark has the pellet in either of the two lower quarters, and different combinations are recorded in the lists (**Pl. XIII, 6**). The mule with reverse of XVI having no initial mark has been noted.

Several innovations were introduced with this type. Large trefoils replace the smaller ones on the cusps, and though there is none on the breast, they sometimes appear over the crown. The legend reverts once more to **DI GRN**, and the stops are saltires on the obverse and absent on the reverse. As with the groats, a new fount of lettering was made during the issue of this type—smaller but of much the same style as that of the larger coins. There are, however, no barred A's and no "pot-hook" letters.

The mules already mentioned with type XVI are the only ones which have been recorded.

With this type also should probably be associated the beginning of an extensive issue of Canterbury half-groats with I.M. Rose (**Pl. XIII, 10**). There are three reasons for advancing this theory. First, by their neat lettering the coins resemble type XVIII, but no type before XVIII; secondly, they probably by their very abundance supplied all the half-groats which were needed between types XVIII and XXI, and so account for the absence of London coins between these two issues; thirdly, they were probably struck at some time before the Canterbury coins with reverse I.M. Cinquefoil which are presumably contemporary with London coins with the same mark, which came just before the end of the reign.

These Canterbury coins are the only common half-groats of the second reign and are probably the most familiar of all which bear Edward's name. We have said that the lettering resembles that of the London coins of type XVIII*b* or later. The resemblance is close, but there are certain differences; differences which are not encountered on any other coins of the reign. These excellent pieces seem to have been struck under special circumstances at present unknown to us, and show as high a standard of workmanship as any coins of Edward's reign.

The coins have I.M. Rose on both sides, including a variant of small size. All have the letter *α* on the breast, and saltire stops in the outer legend of the reverse. Otherwise they divide themselves readily into three distinct types:

- (a) obverse, trefoils on all cusps, saltire stops; reverse, *α* in centre;
- (b) obverse, trefoils over crown omitted, no stops; reverse, nothing in centre;
- (c) obverse, no trefoils on any cusps, no stops; reverse, rose in centre (**Pl. XIII, 11**).

There is frequent muling between the types.

It will be convenient to regard these three types as parallel to the three types at London which should intervene between (and perhaps including) type XVIII, when they probably began, and type XXI, when they were possibly, but not certainly, replaced by the coins with obverse I.M. Long Cross Fitchy, reverse, Cinquefoil. We may permissibly therefore describe the three types (a), (b), and (c) as XVIII, XIX, and XX of Canterbury, although, as we have said, XIX and XX are not known to exist at London. The classification is a little arbitrary, but does not, we think, give a false view of the coins, though we must recognize the possibility that the Rose-marked Canterbury coins may have been struck right up to the end of the reign. Mr. Fred Baldwin has a coin showing the king's name artfully altered to read **RICTRD**.

Types XIX, XX. Canterbury only, as above.

Type XXI. This type has at London the I.M. Heraldic Cinquefoil on both sides (**Pl. XIII, 7**). There are small trefoils on all cusps except the breast. Saltire stops are found on the reverse only and even there are sometimes omitted. The coins read both **DI GRN** and **DEI GRN**. Some coins show a smaller form of the initial mark.

The type was issued at Canterbury also. Here the initial marks are the Long Cross Fitchy on the obverse and the Cinquefoil on the reverse (**Pl. XIII, 12**). Like the later Rose-marked coins of Canterbury they have no trefoils on the cusps at all, and there are no stops on either side. The coins all read **DEI GRN**. We have mentioned elsewhere our reasons for differing from Brooke, who supposed these coins, as bearing the Long Cross Fitchy, to be struck from old dies of the first reign. The new coins have a quite different lettering.

Messrs. Seaby published in January 1941 a coin purporting to show the Long Cross Fitchy only.

Type XXII. Whether the coin which exists should be attributed to Edward IV or Edward V may be uncertain, but that the type was struck seems assured. The coin in question is in the British Museum (see *Brit. Num. Journ.*, xxii, 213, Pl. no. 9) but it is not quite certain whether the initial mark is the Sun-and-Rose or the Boar's Head. As we have shown, the inference is that even if it is a Boar's Head it is probably struck over a Sun-and-Rose, so that the issue in either case was probably prepared for Edward IV. The reverse die of this coin is interesting, for it was used again later by Richard III (*Brit. Num. Journ.*, loc. cit., Pl. no. 10): it thus forms a link with that king's reign in a manner paralleled by some angels. This half-groat has trefoils on all cusps except at the breast, no stops, and reads **DI GRÆ**, and ends **ÆROU RRA**, omitting the copula. There is no reverse initial mark.

Pence

The pence of this period are rare: the initial marks are comprised in the following table:

Type	London	Bristol	Canterbury
XII	Short Cross Fitchy	Rose	—
XIV	Small Annulet	—	—
XV	⊙	—	—
XVI	⊕	—	—
XVII	Pierced Cross on both sides or obv. only	—	—
XVIIIb	†; †	—	—
XIX	—	—	Rose
XXI	Cinquefoil	—	LCF
XXII	Sun-and-Rose	—	—

For pence of Durham and York see pp. 47-52.

Type XII. We know of only two London pennies of this type. One is quite normal¹ but the other (Pl. XIII, 16, R.C.L.), which came originally from the Roth Sale (ii, 206), has the I.M. Short Cross Fitchy overstruck by the **Æ** of **EDWARD**. This led the cataloguer of the Roth Sale to speculate on the possibility of the coin being struck from an old die of Henry VI's Restoration and showing the king's name altered to Edward, and this view has hitherto been generally accepted. But Mr. Lawrence has a Durham coin of which we have already spoken, and which we here illustrate (Pl. XIII, 15), showing the same blunder, and it will be seen that the two coins are struck from the same obverse die and undoubtedly bear Edward's name only. Mr. Lawrence's coin came from the Evans collection (see Evans's plates, no. 2328) and there is a precisely similar coin in the British Museum. The economical practice of thus sending to Durham old London dies had already been exploited, it will be remembered, in the reign of Henry V.

¹ This coin should have been illustrated on Pl. XIII, 17. By a regrettable error a long-cross fitchy penny is there shown instead.

A coin which may be assigned to type XII has recently been discovered of the Bristol mint also: it has I.M. Rose.

Type XIV. The coins have I.M. Small Annulet and show a little variety in the obverse legend (Pl. XIII, 18). A York penny with this initial mark has been attributed to the Royal Mint but is more likely to have been issued from the Archbishop's Mint while the temporalities were in the king's hands.

Type XV. The initial mark is the usual Annulet-with-pellet (◉), and the coins, like the larger denominations, read **DEI GRN** (Pl. XIII, 19).

Type XVI. The initial mark is the Cross over Annulet (with pellet) (Pl. XIII, 20). The coin has the great merit in a student's eyes of furnishing a die-link with the previous issue. Mr. Walters noted that a coin of this type was struck from the same obverse die as a coin of the previous type with I.M. ◉ (*Num. Chron.*, 1914, p. 361). We know therefore for certain what otherwise would be a matter of conjecture only that the cross is struck over the Annulet-with-pellet and probably not over the Annulet alone.

Mules are identifiable with type XVII through the presence of a reverse initial mark on certain coins—the Pierced Cross.

Type XVII. This type also reads **DEI** and has the Pierced Cross as initial mark either on the obverse only or on both sides (Pl. XIII, 21).

Type XVIIIb. The initial mark is the Pierced Cross with a pellet in either of the two lower quarters. The coins read both **DI** and **DEI GRN**, and on some specimens saltire stops are found.

Type XIX. Canterbury coins are known with I.M. Rose. They are rare and usually have the letter **Q** on the breast but not on the reverse.

Type XXI. There are no intervening types until we come to the coins with I.M. Cinquefoil. They apparently read **DEI**, but **DI** is also recorded.

There are also Canterbury coins assignable to this type, with I.M. Long Cross Fitchy: they read **DEI GRN**.

Type XXII. A rare and hitherto unpublished coin of this issue is now known with I.M. Sun-and-Rose. It reads **DEI GRN** and is in the collection of Mr. Carlyon-Britton; there is another in the Hunterian Collection at Glasgow. The similar coin of Edward V with I.M. Boar's Head (*Brit. Num. Journ.* xxii. 213, Pl. no. 12) presumably struck over the Sun-and-Rose does not appear to be struck from the same obverse die.

Halfpence

For the Durham halfpence see p. 52. From the other mints the coins show the following initial marks:

Type	London	Canterbury
XII	SCF	—
XIV	Small Annulet	—
XV	⊙	—
XVI	1. ⊕ 2. ⦿	—
XVII	Pierced Cross (1st variety)	—
XVIIIb	⦿ ; ⦿	Rose
XIX	Pierced Cross (2nd variety)	Rose
XXI	Cinquefoil	LCF
XXII	Sun-and-Rose	—

Type XII. Rare coins are found with I.M. Short Cross Fitchy; they read **DI GRN** (Pl. XIII, 23).

Type XIV. The initial mark is the Small Annulet. These coins are perhaps a little more abundant and more varied than most issues. One specimen shows trefoil stops on the obverse. The legend reads **DI GRN** (Pl. XIII, 24).

Type XV. The coins have the Annulet-with-pellet (⊙) as the initial mark, and as usual with this type the legend changes to **DEI GRN** (Pl. XIII, 25).

Type XVI. This type is interesting for the reappearance of the Cross and four pellets (⦿) which is not known on pence or half-groats (Pl. XIII, 26). The I.M. Cross over Annulet (⊕) also occurs, but the cross is now apparently pierced. The coins read **DEI GRN** and are rare.

Type XVII. The initial mark Pierced Cross is found on the obverse only. As with the pence, a variety shows saltire stops on the obverse. The legend reads **DEI GRN** (Pl. XIII, 27).

Type XVIIIb. Coins are known with I.M. Pierced Cross and a pellet in either of the two lower quarters; both **DI GRN** and **DEI GRN** are found in the legend (Pl. XIII, 28).

Once more there are rare Canterbury coins which are probably to be associated with this type. They have I.M. Rose, α on the breast and in the centre of the reverse, and read **DEI GRN** (Pl. XIII, 13).

Type XIX. With this type we have a coin not represented in the pence or half-groats. The initial mark is the Pierced Cross, but of the second variety, having a pellet on either side of the king's bust. The coins read **DEI GRN**. Unlike the groats, they have no extra pellets in the reverse (Pl. XIII, 29).

There are Canterbury coins with I.M. Rose, α on the breast but not on the reverse. They read **DEI GRN**.

Type XXI. The coins have the usual I.M. Cinquefoil and read **DEI GRN**.

Canterbury coins are also known having apparently the I.M. Long Cross Fitchy,¹ and reading **DI GRN**. They have no α on either side.

¹ See Longbottom Catalogue, lot 200 (ii), illustrated. Brooke, apparently through an oversight, makes no mention of any Canterbury halfpence of the second reign.

Type XXII. The initial mark on these rare coins is the usual Sun-and-Rose, and the legend reads either **DI** or **DEI GRN** (Pl. XIII, 31).

The Gold Coins, 1471-83

The gold coins of Edward's second reign are the direct descendants of those of Henry VI's restoration, and though perhaps on the whole a little better struck, they resemble them in style and general appearance. The only changes were those in the king's name, and the replacement of the **n** and **Lis** on the reverse by **Æ** and a Rose. The lettering throughout is from the small fount of the half-groats, so that we need not look for any of the peculiarities found on the groats.

As time went on a few minor changes were introduced: the initial mark which at first appears on the obverse only is found more and more frequently on the reverse also, and this ultimately becomes the rule. At the beginning of the reign, too, the initial mark is found variously at the right- or left-hand side of the angel's head on the obverse, but eventually becomes fixed on the right-hand side, in the true initial position. In the nimbus of the angel there is at first a cross as on the coins of Henry VI, but this soon changed to a trefoil or else was intermittently dropped. Eventually it disappeared altogether. On the later coins of type XXI, with I.M. Cinquefoil, a new ornament appeared on the ship, to which writers have hitherto made no reference: a small leopard passant was placed between the ropes below the forecastle. This was not removed until the reign of Henry VII.

Coins were struck at London and Bristol; the latter notoriously rare. There are half-angels of London only, most of which are also rare.

Angels

The known initial marks are, apart from mules, included in the following table:

<i>Type</i>	<i>London</i>	<i>Bristol</i>
XII	SCF/—	—
XIV	Small Annulet both sides or obv. only	Small Annulet on obv. only
XV	⊙	—
XVI	✠	—
XVII	Pierced Cross No. 1	—
XVIIIa	✠	—
XVIIIb	✠; ✠	—
XIX	Pierced Cross No. 2 (on mules only)	—
XXI	Cinquefoil	—
XXII	Sun-and-Rose	—

Type XII. Brooke, it will be remembered, assigned this type to the first reign. The initial mark is the Short Cross Fitchy on the obverse only, always placed to the right of the head. The coins are rare and

read **DI GRN**, and on the reverse **GRVSA**: they have trefoil stops on the obverse only. There is a cross in the angel's nimbus. There are no mules.

Type XIV. The initial mark is the Small Annulet, usually on the obverse only, but sometimes on both sides. On the reverse die illustrated (Pl. XIV, 5), which is also that of *English Coins*, Pl. XXXIII, 19, the initial mark appears to be struck over a cross, presumably the Short Cross Fitchy, not known alone on a reverse die. On the obverse the initial mark may stand to the left or right of the angel's head. Both **DAI** and **DI GRN** are found in the legend and the stops are trefoils on both sides, but saltires are also found on some reverse dies while a coin belonging to Mr. L. A. Lawrence has, in addition, a fleur-de-lis at the end of the obverse legend. All three types of nimbus are found: it may contain a cross or a trefoil, or be quite plain. The type is found muled with a reverse of type XV. The obverse die of this coin had mixed stops.

The only Bristol angels are also of Type XIV. They have I.M. Small Annulet on the obverse only to the right of the angel's head with trefoil stops. They read **DAI**, and on the reverse **GRVSA** and **REDATOR**. Only three specimens are known to the writers, struck from one obverse and two reverse dies: in one the initial mark seems to contain a trefoil.

Type XV. The initial mark is the Annulet-with-pellet on both sides or obverse only. The nimbus is now always unadorned and the coins read **DAI**, and though **GRVSEM** is found it is usually corrected to **GRVSEM**. All future angels show the correct spelling. Again the word **REDEMPTOR**, which is never written in full, and which had hitherto been variously abbreviated to **REDMOTOR**, **REDATOR**, **REDATO**, or **REDET**, now becomes almost constant with **REDEMPT**. A further variation occurs in **XPO** which is now at times written **XPE**. Saltire stops are now invariable: trefoils are seen no more.

On some reverse dies the rose beside the cross is struck over what is apparently a sun, traces of which can be seen. A coin in the Montagu Sale (ii. 593) is said to show a sun instead of a rose in this position.

The type is found muled, as we have seen, with an obverse of type XIV.

Type XVI. The initial mark, except in the case just mentioned, is the Cross and four pellets (✠). The coins read **DAI**, **GRVSEM**, and **XPE**, and some obverse dies are remarkable for showing a large trefoil between two pairs of saltires at the end of the legend. The type is found more frequently muled than as a true coin, usually with reverses of other types, including XVII, XVIIIa (Pl. XIV, 7) and b, but it is also found with an obverse of XVII.

Type XVII. The initial mark is the Pierced Cross. It conforms to the now usual type, reading **DAI**, **GRVSEM**, and **REDEMPT**, with of course saltire stops. The coins are found muled: as we have seen, with an obverse, and a reverse, of XVI, and with an obverse of XVIIIb.

Types XVIIIa and b both exist. Type XVIIIa has the I.M. † on both sides and shows the same legend, stops, and lettering as the previous type. The only mules are the one we have already noticed, with an obverse of XVI, and one with a reverse of XVIIIb (Pl. XIV, 8).

Type XVIIIb is a fairly common type. The initial mark is the Pierced Cross with a pellet in one of the two lower quarters, and various combinations of these marks are found on obverse and reverse. The coins read both **DI** and **DEI** and show the new fount of lettering already noted on the half-groats; that is, there will be no barred A's or other peculiarities.

The coins read **CRVCE** and **REDEMPT**, and are found muled with obverses of XVI, XVIIIa, and XIX, and a reverse of XVII.

Type XIX. These coins are known only as mules, the obverse being united with type XVIIIb and the reverse with XXI. The initial mark is the Pierced Cross ("Pierced Cross 2" in the lists), but the coins may be distinguished from type XVII which has the same initial mark ("Pierced Cross 1" in the lists) by the new lettering; type XVII, for example, shows A5, type XIX shows A6 (see drawings at end).

Type XXI. The initial mark is the Heraldic Cinquefoil on both sides. The coins read **DEI**, **CRVCEM**, and **REDEMPT**, or **REDEMT**. Some coins have a pellet before the initial mark on both obverse and reverse or on obverse only: on the groats the pellet has so far been recorded on the reverse only.

The type is common and is found muled with a reverse of type XIX (Pl. XIV, 9), and perhaps with a reverse of XXII¹.

The small leopard below the forecastle is a new decorative feature to which reference has already been made; of nineteen specimens at the British Museum the leopard appears upon twelve.

Type XXII. The initial mark is the Sun-and-Rose on both sides. These coins, previously attributed to Edward V, are extremely rare. We have already referred to our reattribution of coins with this mark in our description of the groats. The angels follow closely the type of their predecessors, read both **DEI** and **DI GRÆ**, but show some variation in **CRVCEM** and **REDEMTOR**: they have saltire stops and a plain nimbus.

It has already been pointed out that some of the obverse dies of the angels, as of the groats, prove to have been used again in Edward V's time by overstriking the initial mark with the Protector's emblem of the Boar's Head. In *Brit. Num. Journ.* xxii. 213, attention was called to one such instance: another has now been discovered, and as with the groats it has been found that in every case which it has been possible to examine the Boar's Head when it appears has been struck over a Sun-and-Rose.² Such angels are excessively rare (perhaps only four in all), and suggest even more strikingly than the groats that

¹ Such a coin was listed in Messrs. Spink's *Numismatic Circular* in December 1920 and in August 1927.

² See *Brit. Num. Journ.* xxiv. 175 ff.

they formed part of an extremely small issue such as that of Edward V undoubtedly was.

Half-angels

These coins are known of London only: all are rare and some are remarkable. The initial mark is always to the right of the angel's head, and on the earlier coins there is a cross in the nimbus; later this is omitted. The initial marks are denoted by the following table:

<i>Type</i>	<i>London</i>
XII	SCF/—
XIV	Small Annulet
XVI	⊕
XVII (?)	Pierced Cross
XVIIIb	⊕ ; ⊕
XX	Pierced Cross with central pellet, mule only
XXI	Cinquefoil
XXII	Sun-and-Rose

Type XII. I.M. Short Cross Fitchy (obverse only). For some reason the legends on these coins were transposed, the king's name and titles appearing on the reverse. The obverse die—perhaps the only one known—now reads **O ORVX**, &c., and has trefoil stops. There are several reverse dies, but only two are known to the writers for true coins, one of which has pellet stops, a thing quite unusual in this reign, and the other trefoils (**Pl. XIV, 11**).

Several mules were formed with obverses of type XIV resulting in the curious pieces with the king's name and titles on both sides. On these mules all varieties of stops occur on the reverse, saltires, trefoils, pellets, or none at all. The coins read **DI GRÆ** (**Pl. XIV, 12**).

Type XIV. The initial mark is the Small Annulet on both sides. The stops on true coins are either saltires or trefoils, with one or more roses in the reverse legend. Both legends are now readjusted to their proper dies and the king's name appears henceforward on the obverse. The coins read **DI GRÆ**. The cross appears in the nimbus but is absent on all later coins.

Type XVI. Type XV is apparently unknown, but the initial mark of XVI is on both sides the Cross struck over the Annulet-with-pellet of type XV. The coins read **DAI** and **ANGLÆ**, like the pence with the same mark, and have saltire stops on both sides, and in addition a rose in the reverse legend. No mules are known (**Pl. XIV, 13**).

Type XVII. This coin is only known from Kenyon, 6, quoting Ruding, Pl. III, 12. There is no initial mark on the obverse and a "Cross" (perhaps pierced) on the reverse. The obverse legend is said to read **DAI** and be without stops; on the reverse there are saltires but no roses. It seems to the writers more likely that the coin is in reality of type XX, and that the central pellet was unobserved.

Type XVIII is represented by XVIII*b* only. The initial mark on both sides is the Pierced Cross and a pellet in one of the two lower quarters. One obverse die has a rose in the legend as well as the usual saltires, and in the reverse legend there are a sun, a rose, and saltire stops. The coins read **DI GRÆ**. Muling is limited to a coin with an obverse of XX (**Pl. XIV, 14**).

Type XX. This type is limited to the mule with a reverse of XVIII*b* just noticed. The obverse shows the I.M. Pierced Cross with central pellet and reads **DI GRÆ**, with saltire stops. An interesting feature of this obverse is that one die was used again for type XXI when the initial mark was overstruck by the Cinquefoil. This die link is attested by two coins in the British Museum (**Pl. XIV, 14 and 15**).

Type XXI. These coins show the Heraldic Cinquefoil on both sides, struck over the Cross just noted on one obverse die (**Pl. XIV, 15**). They have saltire stops and in addition roses in the reverse legend. The variety with the small pellet before the initial mark is apparently unknown. The coins read both **DI** and **DEI GRÆ**.

Type XXII. This type, known from two specimens from the same pair of dies, has I.M. Sun-and-Rose on both sides. There are saltire stops in the legend but no roses, and the reading is **DI GRÆ**. The coins have hitherto been assigned to Edward V.

HENRY VI RESTORATION

(Reference: Mr. D. F. Allen, *Num. Chron.*, 1937, pp. 28 ff.)

LONDON ANGELS, 1470-1

Normal Legends: $\text{HENRIC' DI GRAT' REX ANGL' \& FRANC'}$ and $\text{PER CRUCE (CRUCE) TVT' SALVT}$
 NOS XPC REDEMPTOR (*abbr.*)

Obverses

	<i>I.M.</i>	<i>L. or r. of head</i>	<i>Legend</i>	<i>Dies (D.F.A.)</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1	—	—	$\text{HENRIC' DI; FRANC'}$	A, B	Lettering of groats; R5.
2	—	—	$\text{HENRICVS' DI; FRANCIE}$	C, D	—
3	R.C.	L.	" " FRANC'	E, F	I.M. "Restoration Cross".
4	—	—	" * DEI; "	G	Saltire stops.
5	—	—	$\text{HENRIC' DEI; FRANCIE}$	H	Two coins show (a) Cross in nimbus, (b) Trefoil in nimbus (<i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1910, Pl. IV, 1; 1937, Pl. IV. H); Trefoil also R.C.L. <i>ex</i> Packe 57 (Pl. XIV, 1)
6	R.C.	R.	$\text{HENRIC' " ; FRANC'}$	I, K	—
7	"	"	" DI; "	J	—

Reverses

	I.M.	L. or r. of ship	Legend	Dies (D.F.A.)	Remarks
1	C.P.	R.	CRVSE; NO; REDAMTOR	<i>a</i>	I.M. "Cross Patty."
2	"	"	REDATOR	<i>b, c</i>	—
3	"	"	CRVSE;	<i>d</i>	Pellet and trefoil stops.
4	R.C.	"	/·CRVSE; REDAT	<i>e</i>	" "
5	"	"	/··CRVSE; ·NOS·XPC·REDAT	<i>f</i>	Pellet stops only.
6	"	"	/CRVSE·TVT·STLVN·NOS·XPC· REDAT·T·	<i>h</i>	" "
7	"	"	/CRVSE; REDAT	<i>g</i>	—
8	"	L.	CRVSE; REDATOR	<i>i, j, k, l</i>	—
9	Lis	"	CRV/A; NO; REDAMTOR	<i>m</i>	R.C.L. <i>ex</i> Packe 57 (Pl. XIV, 1).
10	None		CR/VCE; REDAMTOR	<i>n</i>	—
11	"		CR/VCE; REDATOR	<i>o, p</i>	—
12	"		CR/VCE; REDATO	<i>q</i>	—
13	"		A/RVCE; "	<i>r</i>	—
14	"		CR/VCE; REDATOR		Seaby, Jan. 1938, <i>ex</i> P. Carlyon-Britton Collection.

For illustrations see *Num. Chron.*, 1937, Pl. iv.; obv. dies A, B, C, D, E, G, H, I, and rev. dies *a, c, e, f, h, i, l, m, n, o, p, q*; see also Wills 21 (*ex* Clarke-Thornhill 28) for rev. *j* or *k*, and Heath 2, or Murdoch 336 for rev. *g*.

BRISTOL ANGELS, 1470-1

Obverses

	<i>I.M.</i>	<i>L. or r. of head</i>	<i>Legend</i>	<i>Dies (D.F.A.)</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1	—	—	HENRICVS DEI; ERANO	A	Packe 59 (<i>ill.</i>) or Montagu, v. 184 (<i>ill.</i>).
2	—	—	HENRICV DI; ERANO DNS	B	Drabble 108 (<i>ill.</i>) or Manley Foster 38 (<i>ill.</i>).

Reverses

	<i>I.M.</i>	<i>L. or r. of ship</i>	<i>Legend</i>	<i>Dies (D.F.A.)</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1	R.C.	R.	/••CRVSE; REDET	<i>a</i>	Pellet and trefoil stops; trefoils in field; Montagu, v. 184 or <i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1910, Pl. III, 6.
2	„	„	/CRVSE; REDET	<i>b</i>	Trefoils in field (?) V.J.E.R.
3	—	—	CR/VCE; REDE TOR	<i>c</i>	Walters Sale, 1913, 431, or <i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1910, Pl. III, 7.
4	—	—	CR/VSE; „	(4)	Unknown to Allen; see Drabble 108; (? CR OSE).
5	—	—	CRVSE; REDET	(5)	No lis to r. of cross, R.C.L. <i>ex</i> Manley Foster 38 (Pl. XIV, 2).

Known combinations Aa and Bc (B.M.); Bb (V.J.E.R.); B(4) (Drabble 108); B(5) (R.C.L.).

LONDON HALF-ANGELS, 1470-1

Legends: **hENRIC DI GR^W REX ANGL^E ET FR^{AN}(^{TE})** and **O CRVX AVE SPES(SPECIE) VNICT^W**

Obverses

	I.M.	L. or r. of head	Legend	Dies (D.F.A.)	Remarks
1	—		hENRIC DEI; FR	A	<i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1910, Pl. IV, 2 and 3.
2	—		hENRIC DI; FR/ ^W	B	<i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1910, Pl. II; R.C.L. (Pl. XIV, 10).
3	—		hENRICV DI; FR	C	V.J.E.R.

Reverses

	I.M.	L. or r. of ship	Legend	Dies (D.F.A.)	Remarks
1	Lis	L.	CRV...X; V...VNICT ^W	a	<i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1910, Pl. IV, 2 and 3.
2	C.P.	R.	/...CRVX; V...VNICT ^W	b	<i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1910, Pl. II, 5.
3	R.C.	„	/...CRVX; SPECIE VNICT ^W	c	R.C.L. <i>ex</i> Murdoch, i. 338; saltire stops (Pl. XIV, 10).

Known combinations, Aa and Bb, B.M.; Bc, R.C.L.; Cc, V.J.E.R.

BRISTOL HALF-ANGELS

Obverses

	I.M.		Legend	Dies (D.F.A.)	Remarks
	—	—	hENRICV DI; ANGL ^E ET FR	..	R.C.L.; unique; <i>B.N.J.</i> xxiii, Frontispiece, 15.

Reverses

	I.M.	L. or r. of head	Legend	Dies (D.F.A.)	Remarks
	R.C.	R.	/...CRVX...; SPECIE...VNICT ^W	..	R.C.L.; unique; <i>B.N.J.</i> xxiii, Frontispiece, 15.

LONDON GROATS

Normal Legends as on Edward's coins but **hENRIC(V)***Obverses*

	<i>I.M.</i>	<i>Legend</i>	<i>Over Crown</i>	<i>Dies (D.F.A.)</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1	C.P.	hENRIC; RR7ND	—	A, B, C	Saltire stops; I.M. "Cross Patty"
2	"	" "	Trefoils	F	" "
3	"	" "	"	D, E	Trefoil stops.
4	R.C.	" "	—	G to J	" " I.M. "Restoration Cross"
5	"	hENRICV; "	—	K, L	Trefoil stops. Die O similar, but with one trefoil over crown.
6	"	" "	—	M, N	Saltire stops.
7	"	hENRIC; "	Trefoils	P	" "
8	"	hENRICV; "	"	Q to V	" "
9	"	RR7N	"	W	Trefoil stops.
10	"	hENRIC; GR7CIV; RR7ND	"	Y	Saltire stops.

Reverses; the legends are invariable.

	<i>I.M.</i>	<i>Stops</i>	<i>Remarks and lettering</i>
1	Lis	No stops	I1.
2	SCF	"	I1 or I2 ("Short Cross Fitchy").
3	"	Saltire stops	I2.
4	"	Trefoil stops	I2.
5	R.C.	Lis after DEVN	I2.
6	"	Saltire stops	I2.
7	"	No stops	I2; one die used by Edw. IV (see <i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1937, Pl. v).
8	"	Pellet after DEVN	I2.
9	C.P.	Saltire stops	I2.

For illustrations see *Num. Chron.*, 1937, Pl. v. Obvs. C, D, N (all with I2), T (I1); revs. as 1 (D.F.A. 1), 2 (D.F.A. 20), 9 (D.F.A. 6), 6 (D.F.A. 7a).

BRISTOL GROATS, 1470-1

Obverses

	I.M.	Legend	Over Crown	Remarks
1	Trefoil	hENRICV	Trefoils	Saltire stops; <i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1910, Pl. III, 10.
2	"	"	—	Saltire stops; Wheeler 259, <i>ex</i> Roth, i. 209 (Pl. XII, 11).
3	R.C.	"	Trefoils	Trefoil stops, Maish 150.
4	"	hENRICVS; TNG	—	Saltire stops, <i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1910, Pl. III, 8.

Reverses: the legends are invariable.

	I.M.	Stops	Remarks
1	Rose	Saltire stops	WILLT *; dies with x over first arm of W; used also by Edw. IV. See <i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1910, iii. 8 or 1937, Pl. v.
2	Trefoil	No stops	<i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1910, Pl. III, 9, or Wheeler 259 (Pl. XII, 11)
3	SCF	Trefoil stops	<i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1910, Pl. III, 10; WILLT.
4	R.C.	"	R.C.L.

YORK GROATS, 1470-1

Obverses: trefoil stops.

	I.M.	Legend	Over Crown	Remarks
1	Lis	hENRICV; FR7ND	Trefoils	<i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1910, Pl. IV, 6.
2	"	" FR7ND	"	Small lis after FR7ND; L.A.L. (Pl. XII, 10).
3	"	" FR7ND	—	<i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1910, p. 116, 3.
4	"	hENRIC; "	Trefoils	(Pl. XII, 12).
5	"	" "	—	<i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1910, Pl. IV, 4.

Reverses: legends invariable

	I.M.	Stops	Remarks
1	Lis	Saltire stops	<i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1910, Pl. IV, 6; some dies with I, used by Edw. IV (Pl. XII, 12, and 13, same die).
2	Sun	No stops	<i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1910, Pl. IV, 7. B.M. (die of Edw. IV's first reign?).

LONDON HALF-GROATS, 1470-1
Legends as on Edward's coins but **hENRIC(V)**

Obverses: all have trefoil stops.

	<i>I.M.</i>	<i>Legend</i>	<i>Over Crown</i>	<i>Dies (D.F.A.)</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1	R.C.	hENRICV; TROGVS	Trefoils	A	B.M.
2	"	" " FRN	"	B	<i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1910, Pl. III, 1; R.C.L. (Pl. XIII, 1).
3	"	hENRIC ; " "	"	—	Not noted by Allen; <i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1910, Pl. III, 2, or Wheeler 260, <i>ex</i> Walters, 1913, 437.
4	"	hENRICV ; " FR	—	C, D	Montagu, ii. 564, Walters, 1913, 433, or Drabble 1063.

Reverses: legends invariable, no stops.

	<i>I.M.</i>	<i>Dies (D.F.A.)</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1	R.C.	1, 2	<i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1910, Pl. III, 1, or Wheeler 260, <i>ex</i> Walters, 1913, 437.
2	—	3, 4	Montagu, ii. 564, Walters, 1913, 433, or Drabble 1063.

YORK HALF-GROATS, 1470-1

I.M. Lis both sides; **hENRICV**; **FRN** or **FR**; **E** on breast; obv. all cusps fleured, trefoil stops, rev. no stops. *Num. Chron.*, 1910, Pl. IV, 5, or Walters, 1913, 440; R.C.L. (Pl. XIII, 9).

LONDON PENCE

I.M. Restoration Cross or Cross Patty

*Obverses*Legend **hENRIC(V) DI GRÆ REX ANGE(L)**

	<i>I.M.</i>	<i>Legend</i>	<i>Dies</i> (<i>D.F.A.</i>)	<i>Remarks</i>
1	R.C.	hENRICV; ANGE	B	<i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1937, Pl. v; Drabble, 1064; Fitzw. (Pl. XII, 16) hENRIC on one coin has been wrongly construed as having been struck over EDWARD (<i>sic</i>).
2	C.P.	hENRIC; ANG	C	

Three reverse dies are cited by Allen.

LONDON HALFPENCE, 1470-1

I.M. Short Cross Fitchy on obv. only; **hENRICV DI GRÆ REX**; *Num. Chron.*, 1937, Pl. v or *English Coins*, Pl. xxxv, 18.

BRISTOL HALFPENCE

I.M. Uncertain Cross. **BRISTOV**. See *English Coins*, p. 158. B.M. (**Pl. XII, 15**).YORK ECCLESIASTICAL PENCE (*See also list of York pence of Edward IV*)I.M. Lis. **G** and Key beside bust. Stops, where visible, trefoils.

1. **hENRICV DI GRÆ REX ANGE**; *English Coins*, Pl. xxxv, 11, or *Num. Chron.*, 1910, Pl. iv, 8.
2. **hENRIC** " " " " *Num. Chron.*, 1910, Pl. iv, 9; R.C.L. (**Pl. III, 23**)
3. **hERICV** " " " **ANG** " " 1896, p. 81, Guisborough Find.

SILVER, SECOND REIGN

LONDON GROATS, 1471-83

Normal legends **EDWARD DI GRÆ REX ANGLÆ ET FRÆNCIÆ** and **POSVI / DEVOT / DIVTOR / E MÆVM**; **CIVI / TKS / LON / DON**; normally a stop appears between the words, with none in inner legend of reverse; minor variants are not recorded; no marks by bust except as specified.

Mules with rev. of Henry VI (Restoration).

1. I.M.s Short Cross Fitchy/Restoration Cross.
Trefoils on cusps, none over crown; stops, *obv.* trefoils, *rev.* none. L.A.L.
2. I.M.s Small Annulet/Restoration Cross.
Trefoils on all cusps; no stops, but lis after **DEVOT** (cf. *Num. Chron.*, 1937, pp. 53 and 55; dies 10, 24, and 25 show this lis). L.A.L.

Type XII (Brooke VII, First Reign)

I.M.s Short Cross Fitchy both sides; A3, I2, R5.

Small trefoils on cusps, none over crown; stops, trefoils or saltires, or on rev. none.

DI GRÆ

Variants: 1. Trefoils on all cusps.

2. **ANGL**

See *Brit. Num. Journ.* viii. 149, Pl. no. 6.

Mules XII/XIII

I.M.s Short Cross Fitchy/Trefoil.

Small trefoils on cusps, none over crown; stops, *obv.* saltires, *rev.* none.

Variant: Trefoils on all cusps.

Mules XIII/XII

I.M.s Large Annulet/Short Cross Fitchy.

Small trefoils on cusps, none over crown; stops, *obv.* annulets, *rev.* trefoils or none.

DI GRÆ

Variant: Trefoils on all cusps (Pl. XII, 1).

See R.C.-B. Sale 126(b).

Mules XII/XIV

I.M.s Short Cross Fitchy/Small Annulet.

Small trefoils on cusps, none over crown; trefoil stops both sides.

Type XIII (Brooke 1)

I.M.s Large Annulet/Trefoil. A3, I2, R5.

Trefoils on cusps, none over crown; stops, *obv.* annulets, *rev.* none.

DI GRÆ

Variants:

1. Trefoils over crown ? (not yet recorded on a true coin; see mule with Short Cross Fitchy on rev.).
2. Mixed stops on *obv.*; **EDWARD · ; REX · ANGL ·**
3. Trefoil stops on rev. ? (not yet recorded: see mule with *obv.* small annulet).
See R.C.-B. Sale 126 (c) and *Num. Chron.*, 1914, Pl. XXI, 6.

Mules XIII/XIV

I.M.s Large Annulet/Small Annulet. A3/A4.

Small trefoils on cusps, none over crown; stops, *obv.* annulets; *rev.* trefoils or none.

Mules XIV/XIII

I.M.s Small Annulet/Trefoil. A4/A3.

Small trefoils on all cusps; stops, *obv.* trefoils, *rev.* trefoils or none (Pl. XII, 2).

Variants:

1. No trefoils over crown ? (not yet recorded on this mule).
2. **D · EVOT**; the stop is so placed to obliterate an alteration (**DE** over **TD**).

Type XIV (Brooke 2)

I.M.s Small Annulet both sides or, rarely, on obverse only. A4 (rarely A3).

Small trefoils on cusps, none over crown (with both varieties of stop); stops, *obv.* trefoils or saltires, *rev.* trefoils or none.

DI GRN

Variants:

1. Trefoils on all cusps (with both trefoil and saltire stops).
2. (a) EDWRD; (b) EDVTRD
3. Mixed stops; trefoils in legend ending RRTRD*
4. (a) RRTRN; (b) RRTRD*
5. MEVT for MEVM (found also on types VII and VIII).
6. T / DIVTOR* / E with TTS* / UON*; this die is noted with (a) saltire, (b) trefoil stops on obverse.

See *Num. Chron.*, 1914, Pl. XXI, 7.

Mules XIV/XV

I.M.s Small Annulet/Annulet enclosing pellet.

Small trefoils on cusps, none over crown; stops, *obv.* saltires, *rev.* saltires or none.

Variants:

1. Trefoils on all cusps.
 2. Trefoil stops on *obv.* ? (not yet recorded on this mule).
- See *Num. Chron.*, 1914, Pl. XXI, 8; trefoils on all cusps; A3 on *obv.* Another mule showing no trefoils over crown, also has A3 on obverse. (E.J.W.)

Type XV (Brooke 2)

I.M.s Annulet enclosing pellet both sides.

Trefoils, at first small, later large, on all cusps; stops, *obv.* saltires, *rev.* saltires or none.

- (a) No roses by bust (Pl. XII, 3);
 - (i) Small trefoils on all cusps; DI or DEI GRN. Variant: RRTRD * Σ *
 - (ii) Large trefoils on all cusps; DEI GRN
- (b) Roses by bust; large trefoils on all cusps; DEI GRN. All obverses of (b) apparently end RRTRD * (Pl. XII, 4).

A new T is found on this type, lasting till type XVIII; it is similar to the T of the corresponding half-groat, A5. During the issue of this type also a peculiar R is found, similar to the normal R5, but with an appendage descending into the inner circle.

See *Num. Chron.*, 1914, Pl. XXI, 9.

Type XVI (Brooke 3)

Large trefoils on all cusps; stops, *obv.* saltires, *rev.* saltires or none.

DEI GRN

I.M.s. 1. (Pierced Cross and four pellets) † / ⊕ (Plain Cross over Annulet-with-pellet).

Obv. chevron-barred T in TNGU

Rev. unbarred T in TTS

2. † / + (Plain Cross unpierced).

Obv. chevron-barred T in TNGU

Rev. chevron-barred or unbarred T in TTS (Pl. XII, 6).

3. † both sides.

Obv. chevron-barred T in TNGU

Rev. chevron-barred T in TTS

See *Num. Chron.*, 1914, Pl. XXII, 4; *Brit. Num. Journ.* viii. 149, Pl. no. 11.

4. + / ⊕ (unpierced Cross/Cross over Annulet-with-pellet).

Obv. chevron-barred T in TNGU

Rev. unbarred T in TTS; L.A.L. (Pl. XII, 5).

Variant? unbarred T in TNGU (unrecorded).

5. + / + (Plain Cross unpierced)
Obv. chevron-barred **✠** in **ANGL**
Rev. chevron-barred **✠** in **TAS**
 Variant:

All **✠**s unbarred both sides? (unrecorded in this combination).

- Notes.* 1. During this issue the stops are usually crosses, i.e. not placed in saltire.
 2. Chevron-barred **✠** in **ANGL** and **TAS** now become invariable.

Mule XVI/XVII

- I.M.s **✠** / Pierced Cross
 Large trefoils on all cusps; saltire stops.

Mule XVII/XVI

- I.M.s Pierced Cross / **✠**
 Large trefoils on all cusps; saltire stops.

H. W. Taffs.

Type XVII (Brooke 4)

- I.M.s Pierced Cross both sides.
 Large trefoils on all cusps; saltire stops; **DEI GR**
 Variant: No trefoils over crown.

Mules XVII/XVIIIa

- I.M.s Pierced Cross / + (Pierced Cross with pellet in first quarter).
 Large trefoils on all cusps; saltire stops.
 Variants: 1. No trefoils over crown.
 2. **CIVI** *
 Old lettering both sides with R5.

Mules XVII/XVIII(b)

- I.M.s Pierced Cross / — (no I.M.). *Obv.* R5, *rev.* R6.
Obv. as type XVII, *rev.* showing new lettering; saltire stops; only known *rev.* die without I.M. shows **TTS** with a rose after **POSVI** and **DON**; pot-hooked **V** in **DEVN** and **DEVN**, pot-hooked **✠** in **ADIVTOR**

Mules XVIIIa/XVII

- I.M.s + / Pierced Cross. R5 both sides. **DEI GR**
 Large trefoils on all cusps; **ERTND** *

Mules XVIIIb/XVII

- I.M.s + / Pierced Cross.
 Large fleurs replace trefoils on cusps, none on breast or over crown; saltire stops.
DI GR
 1. Pot-hook **✠** in **GR**; *obv.* R6, *rev.* R5.
 2. Old and new lettering mixed on *obv.*; *obv.* R6 and R5; *rev.* R5.

Type XVIIIa (Brooke 5)

- I.M.s + / +
 Large trefoils on all cusps; old lettering with R5; saltire stops; copula **Σ**; **DEI GR**
 Variant: No trefoils over crown.

Mule XVIIIa/b

- I.M.s + / — (No. I.M.). *Obv.* R5, *rev.* R6.
Obv. as XVIIIa, *rev.* with new lettering; rose after **POSVI** and **DON** (see mule XVII/XVIIIb).

Mule XVIIIb/a

- I.M.s + / + *Obv.* R6, *rev.* R5.
 Large fleurs on cusps, none on breast or over crown. New lettering on *obv.*, old on *rev.*

Type XVIIIb (Brooke 5)

I.M.s 1. $\text{†} / \text{†}$ (*Num. Chron.*, 1914, Pl. xxii, 11).

2. $\text{†} / \text{†}$

3. $\text{†} / \text{†}$

4. $\text{†} / \text{†}$ (the most usual combination).

5. $\text{†} / -$

Large fleurs replace trefoils on cusps, none on breast or over crown; saltire stops; copula X ; Roses and Suns in rev. legend.

DI GRN

New lettering; R5 of old fount retained at first, but is then replaced by R6; occasional "pot-hook" letters.

Variants:

Obv. † 1. Fleur on breast.

2. Pot-hook N in GRN (?).

3. EDVTRD

4. RRNNQ

† EDVTRD (on different dies).

Rev. † 1. No roses or suns.

2. Rose after DEVN

† 1. No roses or suns (*Num. Chron.*, 1914, Pl. xxii, 11).

2. " " and no stops.

3. Rose after POSVI and TDIVTORE

4. " " , sun after TDIVTORE

5. " DEVN, sun after "

6. " DEVN

7. " TDIVTORE; *TAS / *LON / *DON

8. Sun after POSVI, rose after DEVN

9. " DEVN

10. Pot-hook V in DEVN, MDEVN, or both (see *Num. Chron.*, 1914, Pl. xxii, 11).

Rev. without I.M. The only die shows a rose after POSVI and DON and reads TAS

Mule XVIIIb/XIX

I.M.s $\text{†} /$ Pierced Cross.

Ornaments, &c., as before; saltire stops; rose after DEVN

Mule XVIIIb/XX

I.M.s $\text{†} /$ Pierced Cross with central pellet.

Ornaments, &c., as before; saltire stops.

Variants: 1. Rose after DEVN

2. Pot-hook V in MDEVN

Mule XIX/XVIIIb

I.M.s Pierced Cross / †

Pellets by bust; large fleurs on cusps, none on breast or over crown; saltire stops; rose after POSVI and TDIVTORE

Type XIX (Brooke 4)

I.M.s Pierced Cross both sides.

Pellets by bust, large fleurs on cusps, none on breast or over crown; extra pellets in one or two quarters of reverse; saltire stops; roses in rev. legend. DI GRN

Variants:

1. Rose after POSVI and TDIVTORE

2. " DEVN

3. Rose after **NDIVTOR**; *Num. Chron.*, 1914, Pl. xxii, 10.
4. Extra pellet under **CIVI** only.
5. Extra pellets under **TAS** and **DON**
6. " " **CIVI** and **LON**; *Num. Chron.*, 1914, Pl. xxii, 10.
7. Pot-hook **V** in **DEVN**, **MEVN**, or both; *Num. Chron.*, 1914, Pl. xxii, 10.

Mule XIX/XX

I.M.s Pierced Cross/Pierced Cross with central pellet.

Pellets by bust, ornaments, &c., as before; saltire stops; rose after **DEVN**; pot-hook **V** in **DEVN** and **MEVN** (Pl. XII, 7).

Mule XX/XVIIIb

I.M.s Pierced Cross with central pellet / +

No marks by bust, large fleurs on cusps, none on breast or over crown; stops, *obv.* none, *rev.* saltires; rose after **POSVI** and **NDIVTOR**; pot-hook **V** in **DEVN**

Mule XX/XIX

I.M.s Pierced Cross with central pellet/Pierced Cross.

No marks by bust, large fleurs on cusps, none on breast and over crown; stops, *obv.* none, *rev.* saltires; extra pellets in one or two quarters.

- Variants:
1. Extra pellet under **CIVI**
 2. Extra pellets under **CIVI** and **LON** (Pl. XII, 8).
 3. No extra pellets.
 4. Pot-hook **V** in **MEVN**

Type XX (Brooke 5)

I.M.s Pierced Cross with central pellet both sides.

No marks by bust; large fleurs on cusps, none on breast or over crown; *obv.* no stops, *rev.* saltires; rose after **DEVN**; pot-hook **V** in **DEVN** and **MEVN**
DI GRN

Mule XXI/XIX

I.M.s Heraldic Cinquefoil/Pierced Cross.

Obv. No fleurs over crown; **RRNRC**; R7.

Rev. Rose after **POSVI** and **NDIVTOR**; extra pellets under **TAS** and **DON**; C.E.B. *ex* Grantley Sale.

Type XXI (Brooke 6)

I.M.s Heraldic Cinquefoil both sides, occasionally on reverse with a pellet. R6 or R7.

Rose on breast, usually in reverse, and rarely in obverse, legend.

Large fleurs on cusps, usually none over crown. Pot-hook letters occasionally on *obv.* and *rev.*; saltire stops.

DI GRN

Variants:

- Obv.*
1. All cusps fleured; R6 and R7 (*Num. Chron.*, 1914, Pl. xxiii, 11, R6).
 2. Rose after **RAX**; R7.
 3. Rose after **ANGL**; R6.
 4. All **As** chevron barred; R6 only noted.
 5. All pot-hook **As** except that in **ANGL**; R6.
 6. **RRNRC**
 7. **RRNRC**; no other stops; R7.

Rev.

1. Pellet before I.M., extra pellet under **DON** with rose after **POSVI** and **NDIVTOR**; R6 (Pl. XII, 9).

2. Pellet before I.M.; no extra pellet, rose after **DEVN**; R6.
3. Smaller I.M.; R6.
4. Rose after **POSVI**; R7.
5. " **POSVI** and **ADIVTORE**; R6.
6. " **ADIVTORE**; R6 (*Num. Chron.*, 1914, Pl. xxiii, 11).
7. " **DEVN**; R6 and R7.
8. " **DEVN** and **DEVN**; R7.
9. No roses in legend.
10. All **As** barred; R6.
11. Pot-hook **V** in **DEVN**, **DEVN**, or both.

Type XXII (Brooke Edward V)

I.M.s Sun and Rose dimidiated (formerly ascribed to Edward V); R6.

Large fleurs on cusps, none over crown, saltire stops; **DI GRN**.

	<i>On breast</i>	<i>Below bust</i>	<i>A's on obverse</i>	<i>A in TAS</i>	<i>Source and remarks</i>
1	Fleur	Pellet	Unbarred	Barred	Wheeler 275.
2	"	"	"	"	R.C.L.
3	"	"	"	"	Morrieson 211; see also Mann 251, and Bliss 237.
4	"	"	"	"	Walters, 1913, 462; EDVTRD
5	"	"	"	"	Grantley 1458; EDVTRD ; different die.
6	"	No pellet	Barred	Unbarred	B.M.; <i>B.N.J.</i> xxii. 213, Pl. no. 7.
7	"	"	"	Barred	Morrieson 210.
8	"	"	"	"	Murdoch, i. 371.
9	"	"	"	"	Parsons 393.
10	No fleur	"	Unbarred	"	Montagu, ii. 634.
11	"	"	"	"	Baldwin; barred A also in ADIVTORE

Of the above, nos 1, 6, 7, 8, and 10 are also found with the obv. I.M. overstruck with the Boar's Head, and with these obverses five further reverse dies are known, to be added to the above.

LONDON HALF-GROATS, 1471-83

No marks by bust; normal legends as groats, **DI GRN** unless otherwise stated, with usually some abbreviation of **FRANC**

Type XII (Brooke VII, First Reign)

I.M.s Short Cross Fitchy/— (*No. I.M.*).

Small trefoils on cusps, none over crown; no stops.

FRN (Pl. XIII, 2)

C.E.B.

Type XIII (Brooke I)

I.M.s Large Annulet/Rose.

Small trefoils on cusps, none over crown; stops, *obv.* annulets, *rev.* none.

FRN (Pl. XIII, 3).

C.A.W.

Mules XIV/XIII

I.M.s Small Annulet/Rose.

Small trefoils on cusps, none over crown; stops, *obv.* saltires or none, *rev.* none.

FR

Variant: no trefoil on breast.

See Parsons Sale 384.

Type XIV (Brooke 1)

I.M.s Small Annulet both sides or, rarely, on obverse only.

Small trefoils on cusps, none over crown; stops, *obv.* saltires, *rev.* none.**RR'; RRT**

Variant: No. I.M. on rev.

See *Num. Chron.*, 1914, Pl. XXI, 10.*Type XV* (Brooke 2)

I.M.s Annulet enclosing pellet/Rose.

Small trefoils on cusps, none on breast or over crown; stops, none, or saltires on reverse only.

DEI GRN; RRT (Pl. XIII, 4).

L.A.L.

See Walters Sale, 1913, 449.

Type XVI (Brooke 3)I.M.s (Cross over Annulet-with-pellet both sides or *obv.* only) \oplus / \oplus or $\oplus / -$

Small trefoils on all cusps; no stops or saltires on reverse without I.M.

DEI GRN; RRTN*Mules XVI/XVIIIb*I.M.s \oplus / \oplus (C.E.B.) \oplus / \oplus *Num. Chron.*, 1914, Pl. XXII, 7.

R.C.L.

Small trefoils on all cusps; no stops.

DEI GRN; RRTN (Pl. XIII, 5).

C.E.B.

*Mule XVIIIb/XVI*I.M.s \oplus / \oplus $\oplus / -$ (a) Large trefoils replace small on cusps, none on breast or over crown; stops, *obv.* saltires, *rev.* none.**DI GRN; RRT***

Old lettering both sides (A5).

See Walters Sale, 1913, 452.

(b) Similar cusp ornaments but trefoils over crown; similar legend (**RRT**) but new lettering (A6) and saltire stops both sides; reverse die is identical with one of XVI without I.M.; see *Num. Chron.*, 1914, Pl. XXII, 5a.*Type XVIIIb* (Brooke 5)I.M.s \oplus / \oplus (Pierced Cross with pellet in one quarter). \oplus / \oplus Large trefoils on cusps, none on breast or over crown; stops, *obv.* saltires or none, *rev.* none.**DI GRN; RRT* or RRT**Variant: trefoils on cusps over crown (with I.M. \oplus).

New lettering (A6) (Pl. XIII, 6).

C.E.B.

Type XXI (Brooke 6)

I.M.s Heraldic Cinquefoil both sides.

Small trefoils reappear on cusps, none on breast; stops, *obv.* none, *rev.* saltires or none.**DEI or DI GRN; RRT**

Variant: Smaller I.M. (Pl. XIII, 7).

See also *Num. Chron.*, 1914, Pl. XXIII, 3.*Type XXII* (Brooke Edward V)

I.M.s Sun-and-Rose.

Only known from the example in the British Museum which shows perhaps Boar's Head over Sun-and-Rose. See *B.N.J.* xxii, p. 213, Pl. no. 9.

LONDON PENCE, 1471-83

No marks by bust; rev. legend **QIVI** / **TTS** / **LON** / **DON**; some have rev. I.M.

Type	I.M.	Obverse legend	Source and remarks
XII	SCF	EDWTRD DI GRN REX TNGU	R.C.L.; C.E.B. (Pl. XIII, 16). ¹
XIV	1 Small Annulet	„ „ „	Num. Chron., 1914, p. 356, no. 1
	2 „	EDWTRD DI GRN REX TNG	B.M. (Pl. XIII, 18).
	3 „	EDWTRD DI GRN REX TN	R.C.L.
XV	Annulet-with-pellet	EDWTRD DEI GRN REX TNGUE	C.A.W. (Pl. XIII, 19).
XVI	⊕	<i>Similar; same obv. die is recorded</i>	R.C.L. (Pl. XIII, 20).
Mule XVI/ XVII	Obv. ⊕ Rev. Pierced Cross	(TNGUE)	Hawkins, no. 11.
XVII	1 Pierced Cross	EDWTRD DEI GRN REX TNGU	C.E.B.
	2 „ both sides	„ „ „	B.M. (Pl. XIII, 21). See Num. Chron., 1914, Pl. xxii, 12. ²
Mule XVIIIb/ XVII	⊕/Pierced Cross	„ „ „	C.A.W. (obv. new fount, rev. old).
XVIIIb	1 ⊕	EDWTRD DI GRN REX TNGU	C.E.B.
	2 ⊕	EDWTRD DI GRN REX TNGU x	C.E.B.
	3 ⊕	EDWTRD DEI GRN REX TNGU	Num. Chron., 1914, p. 363, no. 1. ³
XXI	1 Cinquefoil	„ „ „	R.C.L.
	2 „	EDWTRD DEI GRN REX TNG	C.A.W. (Pl. XIII, 22); Num. Chron., 1914, Pl. xxiii, 4.
XXII	Sun and Rose	„ „ „	Hunterian; R.C.-B.; hitherto unpublished.





¹ One die (R.C.L.) with **⊕** over I.M. was used also at Durham (Pl. XIII, 15; L.A.L.) By an error Pl. XIII, 17, shows a Long Cross Fitchy penny.

² Walters, op. cit., p. 363, cites this initial mark as with pellet in 3rd quarter, meaning heraldic 4th. This is apparently a flaw on the die and the coin Hawkins 10, with Pierced Cross both sides.

³ Walters here cites the initial mark as with pellet in 4th quarter, i.e. heraldic 3rd.

LONDON HALFPENCE, 1471-83

No marks by bust unless otherwise stated; rev. **CIVI** / **TTS** / **MON** / **DON**;
I.M. obv. only.

Type	I.M.	Obverse legend	Source and remarks
XII	SCF	EDWARD DI GRÆ REX	Brooke, <i>English Coins</i> , p. 160; R.C.L. (Pl. XIII, 23).
XIV	1 Small Annulet	EDWARD DI GRÆ REX	C.E.B.; see <i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1914, Pl. xxii, 2.
	2 " "	" " " RÆX T	B.M.; Ashmol. (Pl. XIII, 24).
	3 " "	" " " RÆX .	R.C.L.
XV	Annulet-with-pellet	" DÆI " RÆX	E.J.W. (Pl. XIII, 25).
XVI	1 	" " " "	C.E.B. (Pl. XIII, 26).
	2 	" " " "	B.M.
XVII	1 Pierced Cross	" " " "	C.A.W. (Pl. XIII, 27).
	2 " "	" " " RÆX *	R.C.L.; see <i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1914, Pl. xxii, 13.
XVIIIb	1 	" DI " RÆX	Walters says I.M. with pellet in one quarter, but no pellet is visible. C.E.B.; B.M. (Pl. XIII, 28).
	2 	" DI(?) " "	L.A.L.
XIX	Pierced Cross with pellets by bust	" DÆI " "	B.M.; see R.C.-B. Sale 131 (<i>ill.</i>) (Pl. XIII, 29).
XXI	1 Cinquefoil	" " " "	B.M.; E.J.W. (Pl. XIII, 30).
	2 " "	" DI " "	<i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1914, p. 367, 2.
XXII	1 Sun and Rose	" " " "	R.C.-B. 137 (<i>ill.</i>); Ashmol. (Pl. XIII, 31).
	2 " "	" DÆI " "	Walters (1913) 463, now B.M.

COINS OF THE BRISTOL MINT, 1471-2

All coins without marks by bust.

GROATS

B on breast; small trefoils on cusps; **BRISTOW** (*Brestow* in Brooke, *English Coins*, p. 159, is an error)

Type XII

I.M.s Rose/Rose. No trefoils over crown; stops, *obv.* trefoils, *rev.* saltires.

Variant: **⌘ VII / LT * B / RIS / TOW** (⌘ over left half of **W**; an old die of Henry VI (several such dies are known); *Num. Chron.*, 1937, Pl. v).
A3 on *obv.* and *rev.*

Mules XII/XIV

1. I.M.s Rose/(Saltire). No trefoils over crown; stops, *obv.* trefoils, *rev.* saltires (***POSVI** only).

Obv. A3, *rev.* A4. R. Carlyon-Britton Sale 129 (*ill.*).

2. I.M.s Rose/Small Annulet. No trefoils over crown; stops, *obv.* mixed saltires and trefoils, *rev.* trefoils or none (**Pl. XII, 14**).

Obv. A4, *rev.* A4. *Brit. Num. Journ.*, viii. 149, Pl. no. 10.

Type XIV

- (a) I.M.s Sun/Small Annulet. No trefoils over crown; stops, *obv.* saltires, *rev.* saltires or none.

Variant: **B** over trefoil on breast.

A4 on *obv.* and *rev.*

- (b) I.M.s Small Annulet, both sides. Trefoils on cusps over crown; stops, trefoils both sides.

Variant: **B / RIS . / TOW**

A4 on *obv.* and *rev.* *Num. Chron.*, 1914, Pl. xxiii, 9.

- (c) I.M.s Small Annulet/(None). Trefoils on cusps over crown; stops, trefoils both sides.

A4 on *obv.* and *rev.* *Num. Chron.*, 1914, Pl. xxiii, 8.

- (d) I.M. Sun both sides; see Walters 1932, 347.

HALF-GROATS

B on breast; no marks by bust; trefoils on cusps but none over crown; stops, *obv.* trefoils, *rev.* none.

Type XII

I.M.s Rose/Short Cross Fitchy. **RRN'**; **BRISTOW**. B.M. (**Pl. XIII, 8**).

PENCE

I.M. Rose. No marks by bust.

Type XII

EDWARD DI GRN REX ANG'; **BRISTOW** (Hitherto unpublished). C.E.B.

COINS OF THE YORK ROYAL MINT, 1471

All coins without marks by bust.

GROATS

Type XII

I.M.s Lis/Lis. Small trefoils on cusps, except over crown; stops, *obv.* trefoils, *rev.* saltires or none.

A3, I1, or I2.

I1 shows old *rev.* dies of Henry VI; at least one such die is known coupled with an *obv.* of Henry VI, and later with an *obv.* of Edward IV (**Pl. XII, 12** and **13** same die). Reverses with I1 have saltire stops, with I2, none.

HALF-GROATS

Type XII

I.M.s Lis/Lis. No marks by bust; small trefoils on cusps, except over crown; no stops.

RRN

Num. Chron., 1914, Pl. xxiv, 2.

The initial mark on the reverse is larger than that of the first reign.

COINS OF THE CANTERBURY ROYAL MINT

SECOND REIGN, c. 1477-83

HALF-GROATS

First Type (perhaps XVIIIb-XX). I.M. Rose, no marks by bust, **Q** on breast.

EDWARD DI GRN REX ANGLI S RRN

XVIIIb (?) *Obv.* trefoils on all cusps, saltire stops; *rev.* **Q** in centre, saltire stops (**Pl. XIII, 10**).

XIX (?) *Obv.* trefoils over crown only omitted, no stops; *rev.* nothing in centre, saltire stops.

XX (?) *Obv.* no trefoils on cusps, no stops; *rev.* rose in centre, saltire stops (Pl. XIII, 11).

Second Type (type XXI)

1. I.M. Long Cross Fitchy (both sides?), Seaby, Jan. 1941.

2. I.M. *obv.* Long Cross Fitchy, *rev.* Cinquefoil; no marks by bust, no trefoils on cusps, no stops. DEI; RRT (Pl. XIII, 12).

3. I.M. Cinquefoil both sides (?) (L.A.L., but Brooke in *Brit. Num. Journ.*, vol. xxi, p. 82, says that the obverse I.M. is doubtful).

PENCE

Type XIX

I.M. Rose. No marks by bust; usually Q on breast; no mark on reverse.

1. Q on breast. EDWARD (DI?) RRT REX TN(QU) (Pl. XIII, 14). C.E.B.

2. Nothing on breast EDW . . . RRT REX . . . G. L.A.L., *ex* Walters, 1913, 458.

Type XXI

I.M. Long Cross Fitchy. No marks by bust; nothing on breast.

EDWARD DEI RRT REX TNQ

R. Carlyon-Britton Sale 134.

HALFPENCE

Types XVIIIb and XIX

I.M. Rose. No marks by bust, Q on breast.

Obv. legend

XVIIIb . . . TRD DEI RRT REX

XIX 1. ED DEI RRT REX

2. EDWRT . . . EI ,, ,,

In centre of rev.

Q (Pl. XIII, 13) B.M.

— C.E.B.

— L.A.L.

Type XXI

I.M. Long Cross Fitchy (?). No marks by bust; nothing on breast; nothing on reverse.

EDWARD DI RRT . . .

Longbottom Sale 200 (ii) (*ill.*).

GOLD OF THE SECOND REIGN

LONDON ANGELS, 1471-83

Normal legends: EDWARD DEI (DEI) GRA REX ANGLI ET FRANCO and PER CRVS(D)E(N) TVN' SALVT NOS (NO) XPC(E) REDEMPTOR (variously abbreviated). Small lettering; Pierced Cross 1 (type XVII) shows A5, Pierced Cross 2 (type XIX) A6.

Type	Obv. I.M.	I.M. to l. or r. of head	In Nimbus	Obv. legend	Rev. I.M.	Rev. legend	Source and remarks
XII. Stops, obv. trefoils rev. none	SCF	R.	Cross	DI.; FRANCO	None	C/RVSE; REDE'TOR	B.M. Num. Chron., 1914, Pl. XXI, 2; Ashmolean (Pl. XIV, 4).
	"	"	"	DI; "	"	C/RVSE; REDE'TOR	L.A.L. B.N.J. viii. 149, Pl. no. 7.
XIV. Stops, trefoils, or, rarely on rev., saltires. 1	o (small)	L.	"	DEI; FRANCO	"	C/RVSE; REDE'TOR	B.M.
2	"	"	"	Same obv. die as 1	"	C/RVSE; REDEM'TOR	" No bowsprit.
3	"	"	"	Similar die	"	C/RVSE; REDE'TOR	Seaby, Jan. 1938.
4	"	R.	"	DEI; FRANCO	"	As rev. 2	B.M. No bowsprit.
5	"	"	Plain	DI; FRANCOIE	"	C/RVSE; REDEM'TOR	" NO for NOS
6	"	"	"	" FRANCO	"	C/RVSE; REDE'TOR	" No bowsprit; also with rev. no. 1.
7	"	"	"	" "	"	C/RVSE; REDE'TOR	B.M. Also with obv. as 10.
8	"	"	"	" "	"	C/RVSE; REDE'TO	" See B.N.J. xii, p. 69.
9	"	"	Trefoil	DEI; FRANCO	o (small)	/C/RVSE; REDE'TOR	Brooke, English Coins, Pl. XXXIII, 19; Ashmolean (Pl. XIV, 5).

Angels, Types XII-XXII, 1471-83

GOLD OF THE SECOND REIGN (*cont.*).

<i>Type</i>	<i>Obv. I.M.</i>	<i>I.M. to l. or r. of head</i>	<i>In Nimbus</i>	<i>Obv. legend</i>
XIV. Stops, trefoils, or, rarely on rev., saltires. 10	o (small)	R.	Trefoil	DEI; FRATNO
11	"	"	"	" "
12	"	"	"	" "
13	"	"	"	" FRATNO+
Mules XIV/XV				
Stops, <i>obv.</i> trefoils or mixed				
<i>rev.</i> saltires				
1	"	"	Plain	" FRATNO 4x4
2	"	"	"	Same die as 1
XV. Saltire stops from now on				
1	⊙	"	"	DEI FRATNO
2	"	"	"	" "
Mule XV/XVII	"	"	"	" "
XVI. 1	⦿	"	"	DEI; FRATNO ✕
2	"	"	"	" FRATNO ✕.:

Rev. I.M.	Rev. legend	Source and remarks
None	CR/VSE \mathfrak{M} ; REDE'TO	L.A.L.
„	CR/VSE; REDE'TO	B.M.
„	CR/VSE \mathfrak{M} ; REDE'TOR	B.M. Saltire stops on reverse.
„	CR/SE \mathfrak{M} ; REDE.TOR	L.A.L.; lis at end of obverse legend.
⊙	/CRVCE \mathfrak{M} ; XPE; REDE \mathfrak{M} PT	B.M. Rose over Sun in rev. field. R.C.L. <i>ex</i> Bruun 503 (Pl. XIV, 6). Several reverse dies.
„	C/RVCE \mathfrak{M} ; REDE \mathfrak{M} PT	B.M. See <i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1914, Pl. xxii, 1.
None	CR/VSE \mathfrak{M} ; REDE'TOR	L.A.L.; no stops on reverse.
⊙	/CRVCE \mathfrak{M} ; XPE; REDE \mathfrak{M} PT	B.M. Rose over Sun in rev. field.
+	C/RVCE \mathfrak{M} ; REDE \mathfrak{M} PT	B.M. Rev. I.M. Plain Cross. Pierced (?).
⦿	C/RVCE \mathfrak{M} ; XPE; REDE \mathfrak{M} PT	E.J.W.; no stops on rev.; two obverse dies noted.
„	(Same die)	B.M. <i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1914, Pl. xxii, 3; also REDE \mathfrak{M} T; large trefoil in obv. legend.

Mules XVI/XVII.					
	1	"	"	"	(same die)
	2	"	"	"	(another similar die)
Mule XVI/XVIIIa		"	"	"	DEI; RRTRNC x.x
Mule XVI/XVIIIb		"	"	"	" "
Mule XVII/XVI		Pierced	"	"	?
		Cross 1(?)			
XVII		"	"	"	DEI; RRTRNC
XVIIIa		+	"	"	" "
Mule XVIIIa/ XVIIIb		+	"	"	" RRTRNC
Mule XVIIIb/XVII		+	"	"	" "
XVIIIb.	1	+	"	"	" "
	2	+	"	"	" "
	3	+	"	"	DI; "
	4	+	"	"	DEI; "
	5	+	"	"	" "
	6	+	"	"	" "
Mule XIX/XVIIIb		Pierced	"	"	" "
		Cross 2			
Mule XXI/XIX. 1		Cinquefoil	"	"	" "
	2	Cinquefoil and Pellet	"	"	" "

Pierced
Cross I

α/ΡΥΘΕΜ; ΧΡΘ;
ΡΕΘΕΜΡΤ

B.M.

„

α/ΡΥΘΕΜ; ΧΡΘ;
ΡΕΘΕΜΡΤ

B.M. Same rev. die as mule
XVIIIb/XVII.

⊕

R.C.L. (Pl. XIV, 7).

⊕

/αΡΥΘΕΜ; ΧΡΘ;
ΡΕΘΕΜΡΤ

B.M.

⊕

? ?

Seaby, March 1938.

Pierced
Cross I

α/ΡΥΘΕΜ; ΧΡΘ;
ΡΕΘΕΜΡΤ'

B.M. Saltire stops after
ΡΡΑΝΘ from now on.

⊕

α/ΡΥΘΕΜ; ΧΡΘ;
ΡΕΘΕΜΡΤ'

„

⊕

„ „ „

Baldwin (Pl. XIV, 8); also B.M.

Pierced
Cross I

„ „ „

B.M. Same rev. die as XVI/
XVII (2).

⊕

L.A.L.

⊕

α/ΡΥΘΕΜ; ΧΡΘ;
ΡΕΘΕΜΡΤ'

B.M. Pellet after αΡΥΘΕΜ

⊕

/αΡΥΘΕΜ; ΧΡΘ;
ΡΕΘΕΜΡΤ'

B.M. Same rev. die as no. 5;
two obverse dies at B.M.

⊕

„ „ „

B.M.

⊕

„ „ „

B.M. Same rev. die as no. 3;
another with pellet after
αΡΥΘΕΜ, Seaby, June 1938.

⊕

α/ΡΥΘΕΜ; ΧΡΘ;
ΡΕΘΕΜΡΤ'

B.M.

⊕

/αΡΥΘΕΜ; ΧΡΘ;
ΡΕΘΕΜΡΤ'

„

Pierced
Cross 2

„

Spink, *Num. Circ.*, Aug.-
Sept. 1938; also B.M. and
R.C.L.

„

α/ΡΥΘΕΜ; ΧΡΘ;
ΡΕΘΕΜΡΤ'

E.C.C. (Pl. XIV, 9).

Angels, Types XII-XXII, 1471-83

333

GOLD OF THE SECOND REIGN (*cont.*).

Type		Obv. I.M.	I.M. to l. or r. of head	In Nimbus	Obv. legend
XXI.	1	Cinquefoil	R.	Plain	DEI; RRTRQ
	2	"	"	"	" "
	3	"	"	"	" "
	4	Cinquefoil with Pellet	"	"	" "
	5	"	?	?	DEI ?
Mule XXI/XXII		Cinquefoil	?	?	? ?
XXII.	1	Sun & Rose	R.	Plain	DEI; RRTRQ/
	2	"	"	"	" RRTRQ x/
	3	"	"	"	Same obv. die as 2
	4	"	"	"	DEI; RRTR' / x
	5	"	"	"	" "
	6	"	"	"	(another die) Same obv. die as 5
	7	"	"	"	Same obv. die as 5

<i>Rev. I.M.</i>	<i>Rev. legend</i>	<i>Source and remarks</i>
Cinquefoil	α/RVQAM; XPC; REDEMP ^T	B.M. <i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1914, Pl. xxiii, 1; on rev., usually, leopard below forecastle; some omit saltires after RRAND.
„	/ORVQAM; XPC; REDEMP ^T	B.M. No stops on rev.
„	/ORVQAM; XPC; REDEMP	B.M. No stops on rev.
„	REDEMP ^T	B.M.
Cinquefoil with Pellet	? ?	Spink, <i>Num. Circ.</i> , Dec. 1893.
Sun & Rose	? ?	„ „ „ Aug. 1927.
„	/ORVQAM; REDEMP ^T	Roth, i. 227.
„	„ „	Wills 31, <i>ex</i> Clarke-Thornhill 37; same dies as <i>B.N.J.</i> xxii. 213, Pl. no. 1. (B.M.); same obv. die as next.
„	/ORVQAM; REDEMP ^T ×	Bruun 519 <i>ex</i> Hilton Price 65; Moon 82 has same obv. die.
„	/ORVQAM; REDEMP ^T	Dawnay 50; no stops on reverse; same rev. die as next.
„	Same rev. die as 4	Heath 6.
„	/ORVQAM; REDEMP ^T (another die)	Manley Foster 62, <i>ex</i> Montagu, ii. 631; no stops on reverse.
„	/ORVQAM; REDEMP ^T ×	Maish 169; same reverse die as next, and as <i>English Coins</i> , Pl. xxxiv, 2, which has obv. I.M. Boar's Head.

8	"	"	"	DI; RR7ND ^{x/x} /
9	"	"	"	DI; RR7ND ^{x/x} / _{x/x}
10	"	"	"	DI; RR7ND ^{x/x} /

„	Same rev. die as 7	<p>Packe 61; same obv. die as two coins with obv. I.M. Boar's Head over Sun and Rose:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Montagu, ii. 636 (with R over A on rev., see no. 10 below). 2. <i>B.N.J.</i> xxii. 213, Pl. no. 4 (B.M., with rev. die of Richard III with R and Rose).
„	/ARVQAM; REDEMPT	<p>Rashleigh 742; same obv. die as <i>English Coins</i>, Pl. xxxiv, 2 with obv. I.M. Boar's Head over Sun and Rose (B.M.); rev. die used by Rich. III (Ashmol.).</p>
„	/ARVQAM; TVAM; REDAMT	<p>Drabble 119; same obv. die as <i>B.N.J.</i> xxii. 213, Pl. no. 3 (B.M.) with obv. I.M. Sun and Rose but on rev. R over A, which rev. die is also found on</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Montagu, ii. 636, with obv. I.M. Boar's Head over Sun and Rose. 2. Drabble 120, with obv. I.M. Boar's Head and reading RICARD

BRISTOL ANGELS, 1471-2

Type XIV. I.M. *Obv.* Small Annulet, *rev.* none; trefoil stops; I.M. to r. of head; Trefoil in nimbus (three? known).

1. EDW^{ARD} DEI GR^{AT} REX ANGL^{ORUM} ET FR^{ANCIE} / .:; PER^{GRATIA} / RVSA^{NT} STLV^{NT} .NOS .XPC^{US} .REDE^{CTOR} B.M.
 2. Same pair of dies. " " " " " " " R.C.L. (Pl. XIV, 3).
 3. Same *obv.* die. PER^{GRATIA} " " " " " " " REDE^{CTOR} Cassal 213.

LONDON HALF-ANGELS, 1471-83

Type		Obv. I.M.	Obv. legend	Rev. I.M.	Rev. legend	Source and remarks
XII.	1	SCF	O CRVX ^{US} .NVE ST .SPES ^{US} . V ^{IR} .NIC ^{IT} .	—	EDW ^{ARD} DI GR ^{AT} REX ANGL ^{ORUM} ET FR ^{ANCIE}	Ashmolean; legends transposed: Cross in nimbus (Pl. XIV, 11).
	2	"	" " " (same die?)	—	EDW ^{ARD} DI GR ^{AT} REX ANGL ^{ORUM} .S ^{AN} .FR ^{ANCIE}	Pellet stops on rev.; Kenyon 3; <i>English Coins</i> , Pl. xxxiii, 20.
Mules XIV/XII.	1	Small Annulet	EDW ^{ARD} DI GR ^{AT} REX * ANGL ^{ORUM} *	—	EDW ^{ARD} DI GR ^{AT} REX ANGL ^{ORUM} .S ^{AN} .FR ^{ANCIE}	Evans 2307, Kenyon 2; Cross in nimbus.
	2	"	Same die as 1	—	EDW ^{ARD} DI GR ^{AT} .REX ANGL ^{ORUM} ET FR ^{ANCIE}	Bliss 233 <i>ex</i> Murdoch, i. 361; E.C.C. (Pl. XIV, 12).
	3	"	? REX ANGL ^{ORUM} ET	—	EDW ^{ARD} DI GR ^{AT} ? ANGL ^{ORUM} ET FR ^{ANCIE}	Montagu, ii. 597.
	4	"	? REX ANGL ^{ORUM}	—	EDW ^{ARD} DI GR ^{AT} ? ANGL ^{ORUM} ET FR ^{ANCIE}	Montagu, v. 209.
XIV.	1	"	EDW ^{ARD} DI GR ^{AT} REX * ANGL ^{ORUM} *	Annulet	O ^{mn} / CRVX ^{US} .NVE ST .SPES ^{US} . V ^{IR} .NIC ^{IT} .	B.M.; same <i>obv.</i> die as mule XIV/XII, 1.
	2	"	EDW ^{ARD} .DI .GR ^{AT} . REX .ANGL ^{ORUM} .	"	O ^{mn} / CRVX ^{US} .NVE ST .SPES ^{US} . V ^{IR} .NIC ^{IT} .	<i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1914, p. 354, 3.
XVI		⊕	EDW ^{ARD} .DEI .GR ^{AT} . REX .ANGL ^{ORUM} *	⊕	* O ^{mn} / CRVX ^{US} .NVE ST .SPES ^{US} . V ^{IR} .NIC ^{IT} *	B.M.; R.C.L. (Pl. XIV, 13); plain nimbus from now on; see also <i>B.N.J.</i> xxi. 213.
XVII ?		—	EDW ^{ARD} DEI GR ^{AT} REX ANGL ^{ORUM}	"Cross" (pierced?)	* O ^{mn} / CRVX ^{US} .NVE ST .SPES ^{US} . V ^{IR} .NIC ^{IT} *	Kenyon 6 ("Ruding, iii. 12").
XVIIIb.	1	⊕	EDW ^{ARD} DI GR ^{AT} . REX ANGL ^{ORUM}	⊕	* O ^{mn} / CRVX ^{US} .NVE ST .SPES ^{US} . V ^{IR} .NIC ^{IT} *	Montagu, ii. 598 (<i>ill.</i>), plain nimbus.
	2	"	EDW ^{ARD} DI .GR ^{AT} . REX ANGL ^{ORUM}	"	" (another similar die)	Walters Sale, 1932, 321 (<i>ill.</i>) or <i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1914, Pl. xxii, 9.

Mules XX/XVIIIb.	1	Pierced Cross with central pellet	EDWARD × DI × GRAT × RAX × ANGL ×
	2	"	" " " "
XXI.	1	Cinquefoil (over Pierced Cross)	Same die as preceding mule 1
	2	Cinquefoil	EDWARD DI GRAT RAX ANGL ×
	3	"	EDWARD × DI × GRAT × RAX × ANGL ×
	4	"	?
	5	"	?
	6	"	EDWARD DEI GRAT RAX ANGL
	7	"	" " " "
XXII	.	Sun and Rose	EDWARD × DI × GRAT × RAX × ANG

+	*O*/CRVX*7V6@SP6S *VNID7	Kenyon 4 (Pl. XIV, 14).
„ (?)	*O*/CRVX*7V6*SP6S *VNID7@	Spink, <i>Num. Circ.</i> , Sept. 1897; rev. I.M. "Cross and Pellet".
Cinquefoil	*O/CRVX*7V6@SP6S* VNID7@*	B.M. (Pl. XIV, 15).
„	*O/CRVX@7V6*SP6S@ VNID7*	Roth, i. 219 (<i>ill.</i>).
„	*O/CRVX*7V6@SP6S* VNID7@*	Walters Sale, 1913, 447.
„	? CRVX@ VNID7@	Huth 25.
„	*O*/CRVX@ 7V6 SP6S @VNID7*	Spink, <i>Num. Circ.</i> , July 1896.
„	*O*/CRVX@7V6*SP6S @VNID7*	„ „ Dec. 1893.
„	*O*/CRVX@7V6*SP6S @VNID7*	Kenyon 7.
Sun and Rose	*O*/CRVX*7V6*SP6S *VNID7*	B.M. <i>ex</i> Montagu, ii. 632 (<i>ill.</i>); and R.C.L. <i>ex</i> Clarke-Thornhill 38 (same dies); two known.

KEY TO THE PLATES (XII–XIV)

E.J.W., E. J. Winstanley, Esq; R.C.L., R. C. Lockett, Esq.; L.A.L., L. A. Lawrence, Esq.; E.C.C., E. C. Carter, Esq.; C.E.B., C. E. Blunt, Esq.; C.A.W., C. A. Whitton, Esq.

Where no provenance is given the coin is in the collection of one of the writers.

PLATE XII

1. London groat, mule XIII/XII, I.M.s Large Annulet/Short Cross Fitchy.
2. " " " XIV/XIII, I.M.s Small Annulet/Trefoil; E.J.W.
3. " " type XVa, I.M. \odot , no roses by bust; R.C.L.
4. " " " XVb, I.M. \odot , roses by bust; Fitzwilliam Museum.
5. " " " XVI, I.M.s Plain Cross/ \oplus ; L.A.L.
6. " " " XVI, I.M.s \ddagger /Plain Cross; C.E.B.
7. " " mule XIX/XX, I.M.s Pierced Cross 2/Pierced Cross with central pellet; pellets by bust.
8. " " mule XX/XIX, I.M.s converse to no. 7, extra pellets in 2 quarters.
9. " " type XXI, I.M. Cinquefoil (with, on reverse, pellet beside), extra pellet under **DO**.
10. Henry VI Restoration York groat, I.M. Lis, lis after **RR** $\overline{\text{TNQ}}$; L.A.L.
11. " " Bristol groat, I.M. Trefoil (provenance unknown).
12. " " York groat, I.M. Lis; same rev. die as XII, 13.
13. Edward IV York groat, I.M. Lis; same rev. die as XII, 12.
14. " Bristol groat, mule XII/XIV, I.M.s Rose/Small Annulet.
15. Henry VI Restoration halfpenny, Bristol; B.M.
16. " " penny, London, I.M. Restoration Cross; Fitzwilliam Mus.

PLATE XIII

1. Henry VI Restoration London half-groat, I.M. Restoration Cross; R.C.L.
2. London half-groat, type XII, I.M. Short Cross Fitchy; C.E.B.
3. " " " XIII, I.M.s Large Annulet/Rose; C.A.W.
4. " " " XV, I.M.s \odot /Rose; L.A.L.
5. " " mule XVI/XVIIIb, I.M.s \oplus / \ddagger ; C.E.B.
6. " " type XVIIIb, I.M.s \ddagger / \ddagger ; C.E.B.
7. " " " XXI, I.M. Cinquefoil.
8. Bristol " " XII, I.M.s Rose/Short Cross Fitchy; B.M.
9. Henry VI Restoration York half-groat, I.M. Lis, Θ on breast; R.C.L.
10. Canterbury half-groat, type XVIII, I.M. Rose, Θ on head and on reverse.
11. " " " XX, I.M. Rose, Θ on breast, rose on reverse; E.J.W.
12. " " " XXI, I.M.s Long Cross Fitchy/Cinquefoil.
13. " halfpenny, type XVIII, I.M. (?), Θ on breast and on reverse; B.M.
14. " penny, type XIX, I.M. (?), Θ on breast; C.E.B.
15. Durham penny, type XII, I.M. Short Cross Fitchy, same obv. die as XIII, 16; L.A.L.
16. London " " I.M. Short Cross Fitchy, same obv. die as XIII, 15; R.C.L.
17. " penny, type X, Long Cross Fitchy (*shown in error*).
18. " " " XIV, I.M. Annulet; B.M.
19. " " " XV, I.M. \odot ; $\overline{\text{TNQ}}\text{UE}$.
20. " " " XVI, I.M. \oplus ; $\overline{\text{TNQ}}\text{UE}$; R.C.L.
21. " " " XVII, I.M. Pierced Cross both sides; B.M.
22. " " " XXI, I.M. Cinquefoil.
23. " halfpenny type XII, I.M. Short Cross Fitchy; R.C.L.
24. " " " XIV, I.M. Annulet; Ashmolean Museum.
25. " " " XV, I.M. \odot ; E.J.W.
26. " " " XVI, I.M. \ddagger ; C.E.B.
27. " " " XVII, I.M., Pierced Cross 1.
28. " " " XVIIIb, I.M. \ddagger ; B.M.



1



2



3



4

TYPES I - VII
AND
XVIII - XXII



5

V AND
VII - XV
HEN. VI



6

XV - XVIII



TYPE I



I



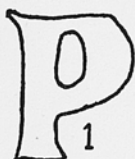
3

XI - XIII
HEN. VI

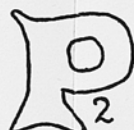


4

XIV



II



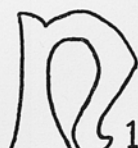
2

Vb - Vc



3

Vd - XVIII
HEN. VI



1

III



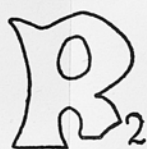
2

III, IV, Va



1

Vd, VI



2

Vd VI



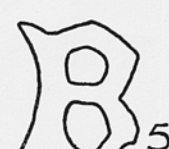
3

Vd VI



4

VII - IX



5

IX (REV) - XVIII
HEN. VI



6

XVIII - XXII



7

XXI



1

VIII - XI
HEN. VI



2

X - XII
HEN. VI



XIV - XVIII



"POTHOOK" V & A
XVIII - XXI



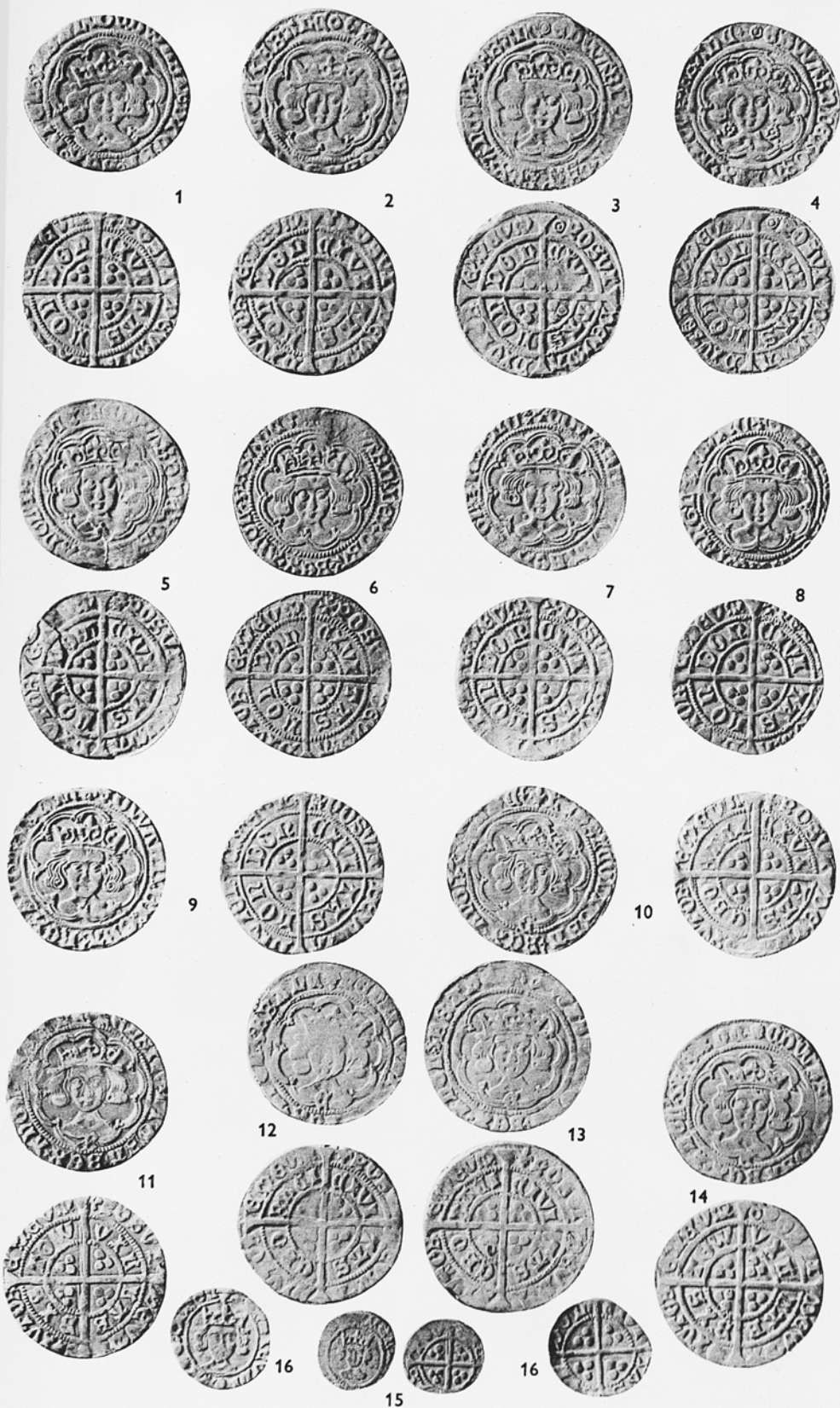
5

XV - XVIII
HALF-GROATS & GOLD

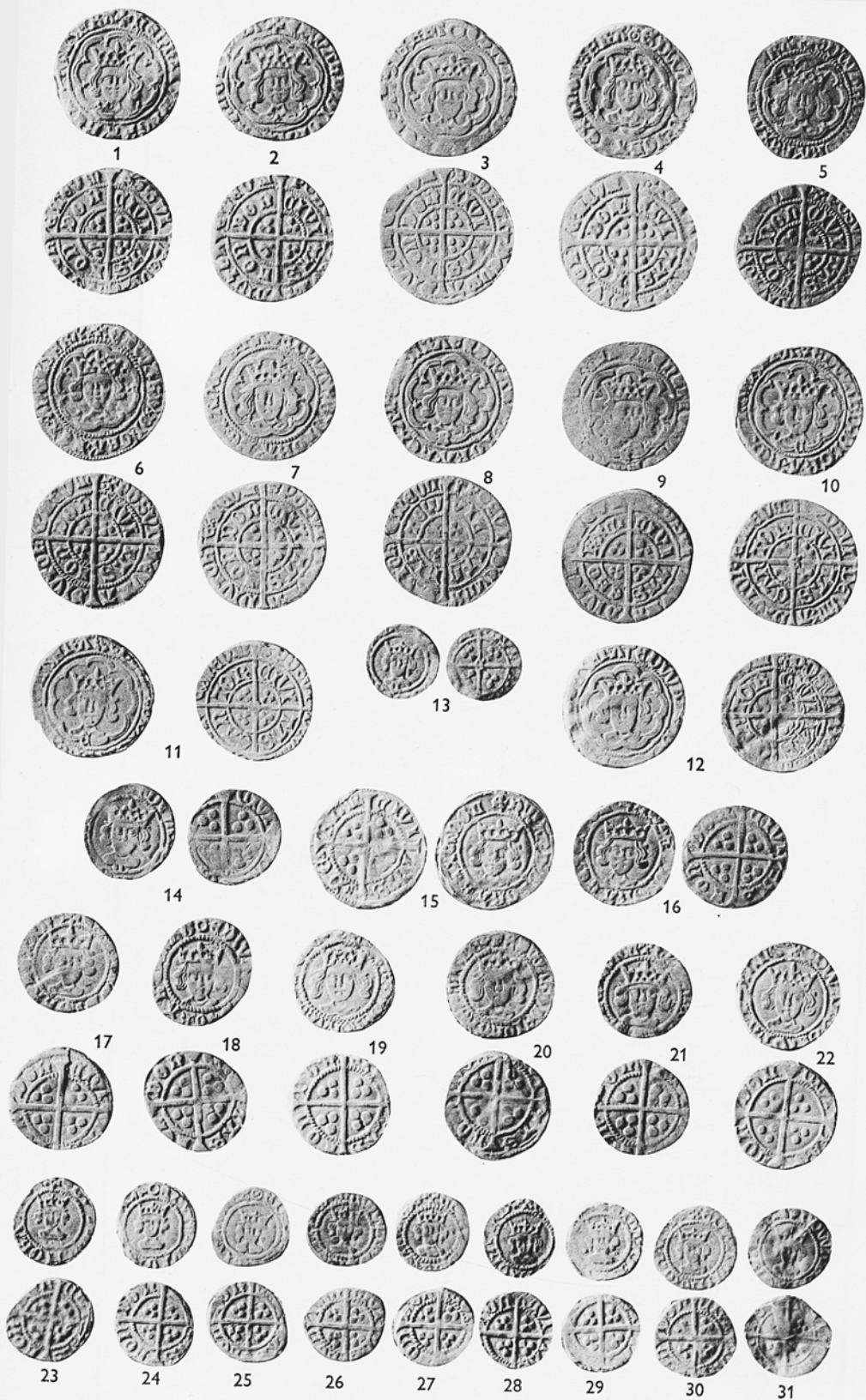


6

XVIII - XXI



HENRY VI, 1470-1; EDWARD IV, 1471-83
GROATS, PENNY, AND HALFPENNY



HENRY VI, 1470-1; EDWARD IV, 1471-83
HALF-GROATS TO HALFPENCE



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



10



9



10



11



12



13



14



15



HENRY VI, 1470-1; EDWARD IV, 1471-83
ANGELS; HALF-ANGELS

29. London halfpenny type XIX, I.M., Pierced Cross 2, pellets by bust.
30. " " " XXI, I.M. Cinquefoil; E.J.W.
31. " " " XXII, I.M. Sun-and-Rose; Ashmolean Museum.

PLATE XIV

1. Henry VI, London Angel, I.M. Lis; R.C.L.
2. " Bristol Angel, I.M. Restoration Cross; R.C.L.
3. Edward IV, Bristol Angel, type XIV, I.M. Small Annulet; R.C.L.
4. London Angel, type XII, I.M. Short Cross Fitchy; Ashmolean Museum.
5. " " " XIV, I.M. O both sides, (on reverse over Short Cross Fitchy?); Ashmolean Museum.
6. " " mule XIV/XV, I.M.s O/O; R.C.L.
7. " " " XVI/XVIIIa, I.M.s $\frac{+}{+}$ / $\frac{+}{+}$; R.C.L.
8. " " " XVIIIa/b, I.M.s $\frac{+}{+}$ / $\frac{+}{+}$; Baldwin.
9. " " " XXI/XIX, I.M.s Cinquefoil and pellet/Pierced Cross 2; E.C.C.
10. Henry VI, London half-angel, I.M. Restoration Cross; R.C.L.
11. Edward IV, London half-angel, type XII, I.M. Short Cross Fitchy; King's title on reverse; Ashmolean Museum.
12. London half-angel, mule XIV/XII, I.M. Small Annulet; King's titles both sides; E.C.C.
13. " " type XVI, I.M. Θ ; R.C.L.
14. " " mule XX/XVIIIb, I.M.s obv. Pierced Cross with central pellet, rev. $\frac{+}{+}$, same obv. die as XIV, 15; B.M.
15. " " type XXI, I.M. Cinquefoil (on obverse struck over Pierced Cross); same obverse die as XIV, 14; B.M.

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA TO PART II

- p. 155. London Groat. Type *Vd* 1. A variant has a saltire after **RRTR**
- p. 158. Type *Xa* 3. A variant with small letters (*c*) reads **TRU**
- p. 158. Mule *Xa*/IX, variant 1. One rev. die reading **LONDON** has **TTS** under **POSVI**
- p. 160. London Pence. Type *Xa*; one reads **TRG**
- p. 161. London Halfpence. Type *Xa*; one ends **RAX**
- p. 164. Norwich Groat. Type VI shows the following variants: **DE** for **DI** and **NORVIC** or **NORWIC** each without apostrophe.
- p. 169. Add a Halfpenny of the Canterbury Ecclesiastical Mint: Type VII (?); i.m. Pall, no knot or spur; no marks by bust. **EDWARD DI GRTR(RAX)** and **DIVITAS CARTOR** (R.C.-B.)
- p. 169. The mule Half-groat IX/VIII of the Canterbury Royal Mint has trefoils by bust, no mark on breast, and trefoil stops on reverse. (R.C.-B.)
- p. 172. Bristol Ryal; add to Type VI: i.m. Sun, variant 3; saltire stops on obverse. (Bibliothèque Nationale.)
- p. 175. Half-ryals, London, Type VII, i.m. Crown, variant 4; the coin reading **DEI** and **RRND** has the normal trefoil stops on obverse, not saltires.
- p. 178. Quarter-ryals; add to Type VII:—*obv.*, as no. 15, *rev.*, i.m. Lis, stops trefoils and roses, a lis omitted from one fork of floral cross (Baldwin).

MISCELLANEA

"A NEW COIN OF HENRY OF ANJOU"

IN the last number of the *Journal*, I published an article entitled "A New Coin of Henry of Anjou". Mr. Leopold A. Vidler, of Rye, Sussex, a member of this Society since 1931, has written to me to point out that the coin is not "new" so far as he and his brother Mr. O. C. Vidler of Dorchester, Dorset, are concerned. Indeed it was the latter who was primarily responsible for the coin being discovered and the former for it being "vetted" at the British Museum.

The coin was discovered in the course of building the Dorchester Women's Institute County Hall, which lies within a few yards of the only surviving piece of the Roman Wall. Mr. O. C. Vidler asked Miss Marsden, who was President of the Women's Institute in Dorchester (and subsequently Mayor), to have all the coins, &c., found in the excavation preserved; the penny of Henry of Anjou was amongst them. It was sold to the British Museum for the benefit of the Women's Institute. In addition to being known at the British Museum, the coin, or an impression of it, was seen by Mr. W. J. Andrew, Mr. J. B. Caldecott, and Mr. A. H. Baldwin, the last of whom at least realized its significance.

A cast of the coin is, Mr. Vidler tells me, now in Dorchester Museum.

I hasten to correct any false impressions which my note may have created as regards its "newness" or its "discoverer", and to pay Mr. Vidler and his brother full credit for the discovery and recognition of the coin. In publishing the coin, which I simply found in the British Museum trays, I had of course no clue to this background.

D. F. A.

A MEDAL OF ANNE BOLEYN

THE following note has been sent by Colonel M. H. Grant with reference to the medal of Anne Boleyn reproduced on page 209 of this volume of the *Journal*:

"Whilst the homely features here depicted can scarcely be those of Henry's beautiful wife, they may well be those of *Anna*, daughter to *Sir Geoffrey Boleyn*, who married *Sir Henry Heydon*, of Wickham Court (near Hayes and Keston). She was *Aunt* to the queenly Anna, or *Cousin*, it is not certain which, but a different lady, and one of note, contemporary with her junior Anna.

"This *may* be a solution of the interesting medal."

ANCIENT BRITISH SILVER COIN FOUND IN BERKSHIRE

IN June 1948 Mr. W. S. How, of Edinburgh, accidentally found in the chalk on White Horse Hill an uninscribed silver coin of the type Evans, F. 6. The exact spot of the find was the junction of Icknield Way with a cart-track at the south-western corner of Uffington Castle, on the left side of the road facing east. Further details and an

illustration of the coin will be published in the *Berkshire Archaeological Journal*. This journal also published in 1938 and 1939 a paper by Mr. W. A. Seaby on "Ancient British Coins found in Berkshire", with a map and list of find-spots.

P. H. SELLWOOD

A NEW SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY TOKEN



I acquired the following piece a short time ago:

Obv. CLAREWIL • TAVERNER round crossed keys in a beaded circle.

Rev. AC • YKYES OF • DVNKIRK • in a beaded circle, round LOS [*sic*]
TO THE SPANYARD in four lines.

Farthing size. Die axis. ↑ ← [See illustration above.]

No town is named, or date given on this token, and neither the name of the inn nor that of its proprietor is recorded in any work on tokens. Fortunately, the name "Keys of Dunkirk" gives an approximate date for the issue of the piece. Dunkirk, then in the hands of the Spaniards, was taken in 1658 by an Anglo-French army under Turenne, supported by an English naval squadron. The combined armies had, a few days before, defeated the enemy outside the town.

The following story (for the accuracy of which I cannot vouch) is given in *M.I.B.H.* (i), p. 429. Louis XIV, in allying himself with Cromwell, had agreed to hand over Dunkirk to England, but had given Turenne secret instructions not to do so; Cromwell, getting to know of this, threatened that if the town was not given up to his representative an hour after its surrender, "he would himself demand the keys at the gates of Paris". His firmness was rewarded and Dunkirk remained English until Charles II, wishing to "appease" France, sold it back to Louis for a large sum of money.

The naming of an inn after the Dunkirk incident is an indication of the popularity of Cromwell's action; it is interesting to recall his principal reason for acquiring Dunkirk, as it was a matter of great concern to England.

Cromwell, with an acute appreciation of sea-power, knew well that Dunkirk in the hands of Louis XIV would be developed into a great port, threatening English command of the Channel, and acting as a base for a future invasion of England. Moreover, Dunkirk privateers had already become a serious menace to shipping of all nations.

What Cromwell feared came to pass in Charles II's reign. The return of Dunkirk to France encouraged Louis XIV and Colbert to begin their naval expansion, and during the wars of William III and

Anne, the Dunkirk privateers, led by Jean Bart, Du Casse, and others, inflicted severe losses upon British shipping, causing a diversion of forces, which gave the French fleet under Tourville the advantage of numbers.

He failed to follow up his victory off Beachy Head in 1690, and soon afterwards the French fleets were either destroyed or blockaded in their ports. The privateers, without an adequate backing, could do no more than prolong the war.

I have diverged rather widely from the point, because I wished to show how this little token could be used to illustrate a point of great historical importance to England, namely, the command of the narrow seas.

J. D. A. THOMPSON

THE NAMING OF SHIPS AFTER ENGLISH GOLD COINS

Nothing illustrates the popularity of the ship-type in England better than the practice of naming ships after certain gold coins.

It is difficult to say how generally it was adopted, but if we except Henry VII's great ship *Sovereign* of 1494 (whose name may be taken more as a compliment to the king than as a reference to the coin), four examples can be quoted, all of the Elizabethan period. Some notes on these ships may interest readers.

1. The *George Noble*. A ship of 120 tons and 10 guns, belonging to the "secondary" or Reserve squadron of London, raised for service against the Armada in 1588. This squadron was commanded by Nicholas Gorges, and remained in the Thames ready for sea, but saw no service. I can find nothing more about this ship.

2. The *Golden Noble*, of 200 tons, a London vessel, and one of twenty-two merchant-ships taken up for the Queen's service on the outbreak of war with Spain in 1585.

3. The *Golden Ryall*, of Weymouth, 120 tons, and belonging to Thomas Middleton. This ship fought against the Armada, for her owner claimed money for damage to one of her guns in action.

4. The *Angel* or *Angel of Hampton*, of Southampton. The tonnage of this vessel is not stated, but her owner was Richard Goddard, a former mayor of Southampton, and she was commanded by Lawrence Prowse, who became mayor in 1618. The *Angel* was expended as a fireship against the Armada, off Calais.

The three ships first mentioned were armed merchantmen, equipped partly at the Queen's expense; units of this class formed the bulk of the English fleet. They were of medium tonnage by Elizabethan standards, and were probably all "galleons"—sailing-ships built with a beak head, somewhat on the lines of a galley, in contrast to the older "carrack" or *nao* (a sixteenth-century Portuguese term meaning "ship") with its overhanging forecastle. The two types can be readily compared by looking at three English coins—the rare pattern Angel of Edward VI in the British Museum (Ruding, pl. VIII, 3), the Mary Ryal, and that of Elizabeth.

J. D. A. THOMPSON

REVIEWS

Anglo-Saxon Gold Coinage in the Light of the Crondall Hoard. By C. H. V. SUTHERLAND, M.A., D.Litt. Oxford, 1948. 106 pp. and 5 pl. 25s.

THE appearance of this important work will be a matter of great satisfaction and interest to all concerned with English numismatics. The earliest issues of this country following the Dark Ages have not hitherto received the careful study they deserved, largely because the most important material, the Crondall hoard, was not readily available for prolonged study. With the acquisition of the hoard by the Ashmolean Museum, by which it was acquired in memory of the late Sir Arthur Evans, a detailed examination became possible and Dr. Sutherland now publishes the results of his researches. These enable a substantial number of types to be added to those previously regarded as originating in this country.

The coins are divided by the author into the following main groups:

1. Anglo-Merovingian types.
2. Issues inspired by Roman prototypes.
3. Coins struck at London and derivative issues.
4. The 'Witmen' Group (? Kentish) and derivative issues.
5. The York group.
6. Regal coinages.
7. Miscellaneous issues.

Virtually every known specimen of the coinage is listed and described in admirable detail. Weight, die-relationship, and size are given, and care has been taken to trace pedigrees wherever possible. The five plates illustrate every specimen that it was possible to locate. It will be seen, therefore, that the book constitutes a *corpus* of the early Anglo-Saxon gold coinage, and the background against which these issues must be viewed is set out in introductory chapters dealing with the sub-Roman coinage of the Dark Ages and the coinage of Merovingian Gaul. The gradual resumption of trade with the Continent is then discussed and illustrated by two maps.

The dating of this series is a matter that presents considerable problems. The numismatic material is in itself limited, and of the 128 Anglo-Saxon coins illustrated, no fewer than 73 came from the Crondall hoard. The remainder, where provenance can be established, were isolated finds. We are thus largely dependent on a single hoard with no means of producing comparative evidence. Dr. Sutherland follows Sir Arthur Evans and others in regarding the "medalet" of Bishop Leudardus as the earliest coin in the series and in dating it to the last quarter of the sixth century. The well-known piece reading DOROVERNIS CIVITAS also seems to be of early date. At the other end of the scale can safely be put the "two-emperor" type and

the Peada coins, both of which are found in gold and silver and so should have first been issued in the years immediately preceding the introduction of the sceat, for which a date *c.* A.D. 675 is now generally accepted. It is the intervening period that presents the problem. Dr. Sutherland dates the deposit of the Crondall hoard to *c.* A.D. 660-70, and, for reasons that he explains, attributes many of the coins in it to a period from twenty to fifty years earlier. There is some difficulty in reconciling these two dates. My own view is that the bulk of the Saxon coins found at Crondall were of recent striking at the time of the deposit, and I base this view on the two following considerations to which it seems impossible not to attach importance:

1. The coins were nearly all in the finest condition, suggesting recent issue.
2. The unusual number of die-links shown in the diagrams set out on pp. 60 ff. lend support to this view.

The following table sets out the more significant examples:

	<i>No. in hoard</i>	<i>No. die-linked</i>
"Lemc" and cognates (nos. 5-9)	8	5 and 2
"Cross" types (nos. 15-16)	5	5
Licinius type (nos. 28-30)	9	9
London type (nos. 45-7)	7	7
London derivatives (nos. 48-56)	9	3 and 5
"Witmen" type (nos. 57-71)	21	3, 8, and 8
"Ean" type	4	4

Among the Merovingian coins the following die-links are found:

Mint of Wiccu	7	2 and 4
-------------------------	---	---------

The inference seems inescapable that all these coins that are so strongly die-linked can only recently have left their places of issue. It is important also to note the last die-links, those of Wiccu, suggesting as it does that the owner of the treasure had recently been in Gaul.

If it is accepted that the times of issue and of the deposit of the hoard must be approximately the same, one has to consider whether to bring back the date of the deposit or to bring forward the date of issue. And here we are on much less sure ground. The dating of the Merovingian series, on which much turns, is almost as nebulous as the dating of our own thrymsas. French authorities have expressed the view that a coin of Marsal in the hoard and two coins of Metz can hardly have been struck prior to A.D. 650. This view is based on the decadence of their style. Among the Anglo-Saxon coins the coins of London offer important evidence. Dr. Sutherland points out the Christian, and possibly ecclesiastical, character of these pieces and notes that the wave of pagan reaction following Ethelbert's death in A.D. 616 makes it highly unlikely that they could have been struck between that date and A.D. 675, when Eorconwald was appointed bishop. A date as late as A.D. 675 is for a variety of reasons impractic-

cable, and Dr. Sutherland therefore attributes the coins to a period prior to A.D. 616, say, 40-50 years before the deposit of the hoard.

Another coin that may well be of early date is the remarkable piece probably reading *Audvarlǫð Reges* which has been attributed with seeming probability to Eadbald, King of Kent A.D. 616-40.

A logical date for the deposit, on the evidence of the Anglo-Saxon coins alone, would therefore seem to be c. A.D. 620 and the Abbo coin rather supports this. The difficulty lies with the Merovingian issues, and it seems desirable that the authorities on this series should carefully consider their opinion to see if a somewhat earlier date might not be applicable than the one originally suggested by them.

It has been thought necessary to dwell at some length on the question of dating, which is clearly a controversial matter and one on which a variety of views is likely to be held. Whatever may be the correct solution of this difficult aspect of the subject, numismatists and historians at home and abroad must be deeply indebted to Dr. Sutherland for making available to them in so scholarly a manner the material that must form the basis of any consideration of the question. His book will undoubtedly prove the standard work on the subject, and makes a worthy addition to the excellent series recently inaugurated by the Ashmolean Museum. It is, moreover, a volume which every student will wish to have readily available at home.

C. E. B.

Dr. Sutherland has kindly supplied the following note in answer to the remarks made above:

Quite plainly, the chief difficulty lies in the admittedly vague or indefinite chronology of the Merovingian series: arguments drawn from this material can be no more than suggestive, though they must probably sound a note of caution against an unduly early date for the English gold.

Apart from this, it seems likely that this English gold was not subject to the same conditions of circulation and currency as have generally been the case with silver and copper. It was (as all evidence suggests) either rare in original volume—and thus unsuitable for general circulation—or so seldom circulated as to be restricted now to a single hoard *plus* a number of isolated examples (from which it might also be argued that it found its way easily into the melting-pot, either in the earlier part of the seventh century or later).

Thus, if it was not so much a hand-to-hand currency as a form of easily portable and easily stored "high-value" treasure (comparable to the gold Anglo-Saxon pieces of later date upon which attention has recently been directed), it would not be surprising if, handled and stored in bulk rather than piece by piece in daily life, it tends to show both a fine average level of preservation and also a high proportion of die-links. Arguments from die-links can, in any case, be over-emphasized: very few series of ancient coins fail to show die-relation-

ship, of one sort or another, upon patient examination; and, of course, an original production of coins from dies *aa*, *ab*, *ac*, *ad* will still reflect those relationships, or many stages of them, among the relics of that original issue still surviving 10, 20, or 100 years later.

But I hope that the system of dating proposed in my monograph will be understood to be no more than an effort to suggest some closer definition in a group of material which, through lack of historical as also of comparative archaeological evidence, is essentially very difficult and very uncertain. It will be something if the terminal dates are agreed: in this connexion, the existence of a "Valentinian I" type in gold, which merges into electrum and silver, suggests with some strength that the gold series may have continued well past the middle of the seventh century.

Guide to the Greek, Roman, English and Chinese Coins—Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum. By DR. J. G. MILNE, DR. C. H. V. SUTHERLAND, and MR. A. THOMPSON, under the general editorship of MR. D. B. HARDEN. Price 2s. 6d.

The preface and introduction, taken together, provide a useful note on the principal coin collections at Oxford; their provenance, and how these collections, a number of which belong to individual colleges as well as to the University, were ultimately brought together in the Heberden Coin Room at the Ashmolean Museum.

The book is divided into sections, and while serving its main function as a guide, includes a number of pertinent observations and statements which for sheer clarity and conciseness are a pleasure to read.

The English series is chiefly represented by the Wake, Barton, and A. T. Carter Collections, belonging to Christ Church.

The Roman series, selected from coins of the Evans Bequest, is arranged to illustrate "three periods of stress and development in the history of the Roman Empire", viz. (1) The Civil Wars of A.D. 68; (2) Schism and rebellion in the third century; (3) The Constantinian Dynasty and the collapse in the West.

The Greek series, also from the Evans Collection, illustrates the Greek coins of Italy, Sicily, the Balkans, the Adriatic coast, the Black Sea, and Crete. Another selection from the Oman Collection showing groups of autonomous issues and the fine series of Macedonian and Seleucid portraits is also described.

Chinese coins—the Laird Gift—are arranged "to illustrate on broad lines the history of Chinese coinage over a period of more than 2,000 years". One other section deserving special mention is that on the Crondall Hoard. This is ably summarized in the light of Dr. Sutherland's recent work.

Complete with ten excellent plates and a short bibliography, this book contains, in its fifty pages, much that should interest most collectors.

C. W. P.

Finds of Greek Coins in the British Isles. By J. G. MILNE, M.A., D.Litt.
Oxford University Press. 1948. 5s.

The title of this book might suggest that it was not likely to be of special interest to numismatists interested only in the English series. But, though its main purpose is to vindicate the claim that Greek coins have been found in various parts of this country, it has an important chapter that should be read by all on the different types of finds and the need to recognize the type when attempting to interpret their significance. The views expressed in this chapter alone would justify the modest price at which the book is published.

Berks Arch. Journal, vol. xlix: "Berkshire Tradesmen's Tokens of the Seventeenth Century", by J. G. MILNE.

Proc. Suffolk Inst. Arch. and N.H., vol. xxiv, pt. 1: "Suffolk Tradesmen's Tokens of the Seventeenth Century", by the EARL OF CRANBROOKE.

Hamburger Beiträge zur Numismatik. Parts 1 and 2, 1947-8.

The second number of this publication appeared in the summer of 1948, a year after the first. It is a new journal, but as none of the German numismatic periodicals appear to have attempted a revival, its significance and, one might say, responsibility is considerable. In any case, it would appear creditable—almost astounding—that a journal of a hundred pages of well-spaced letterpress and five half-tone plates should be produced in Germany at all. It represents the triumph of a few self-reliant enthusiasts over their unencouraging circumstances, a condition which alone might guarantee its quality. As such, it is at once the organ of an active and growing local society, energetically organized by Dr. Häverník of the Civic Museum, and already signalized by two "Congresses", and the vehicle for such conscientious and original numismatic thought as has appeared in Germany since the war, some of the articles emerging from the series of papers delivered at these "Congresses". The editor is conscious of the relatively good fortune of his city in having preserved its public collection and numismatic library intact, whereas elsewhere these have been lost and the conjurations of numismatists "discouraged".

The methods of such scholars as survived this purging discipline represent the best and hardiest strain in the often minute and tendentious German tradition; but their wider outlook is more important than their methods. To quote a review of a similar work in Austria, the implicit purpose of nearly all the contributors is "to set numismatics free from its isolation to function as an auxiliary to other sciences". These papers are not addressed to "MM. les amateurs", nor even, for the most part, to those interested in the minutiae of coins for their own sake, but to historians and economists, to whom collecting is a mere "parergon", and, under present conditions, almost

impossible. The usual display of learning, with the towering bibliographies of German practice, here becomes a most catholic learning—documents in both ancient and medieval contexts are quoted *in extenso* (the acknowledged master of source-studies, Dr. Jesse, is among the contributors), while distribution-maps represent the objectivity and succinctness of the new approach. Finally several reviews and summaries betoken a lively awareness of advances in all countries during the years when scholarship has had to move with more than its accustomed patience.
S. E. R.

Primitive Money in its Ethnological, Historical and Economic Aspects,
By DR. PAUL EINZIG. London, Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1949. With a bibliography and three indexes (475+30+10 pp.). 25s.

This useful and exhaustive work, ranging over the whole world and every epoch, will help the numismatist to understand how and why his coins came into existence, and what happens when there are none. The author approaches his subject from two angles; he deals first with the ethnological aspect of it, then with the historical. Later he discusses the evolution and philosophy of primitive money. Much of the book is more directly concerned with economics than numismatics, but the serious student will be grateful for any and all illumination on this difficult topic.

C. A. W.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, 1948

(For list of past Presidents and Medallists see p. 80; the Officers and Council for 1948 show the following changes from 1947 (p. 99): Director, Mr. C. A. Whitton; Librarian, Mr. D. Mangakis; Council, Messrs. G. V. Doubleday, W. Hurley, C. W. Peck, and P. H. Sellwood vice Messrs. J. Davidson, D. Mangakis, C. A. Whitton, and the late J. B. Caldecott.)

ORDINARY MEETING

28 JANUARY 1948

MR. C. E. BLUNT, *President, in the Chair*

The following were nominated for election to membership of the Society:

Mr. George R. Blake, "Adanac", Crabwood Road, Millbrook, Southampton.

Rev. J. W. Clarke, B.A., C.F., Gormanston, Meath, Eire.

Mr. E. Wesander, 16 Lawn Road, London, N.W. 3.

Messrs. H. Horsman, Doran A. Jones, D. Elliott Smith, and Sydney V. Hagley were elected Members of the Society.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence, F.R.C.S., was elected an Honorary Member of the Society.

Exhibitions

By the PRESIDENT on behalf of MR. D. F. ALLEN:

1. Edward the Confessor: a cast of a penny of Warwick, moneyer Lyfinc; same type and moneyer as Mr. Lockett's gold penny.
2. A cast of the gold penny; the original was exhibited separately.

By MR. ALBERT BALDWIN:

A Short-cross penny of Henry II of Oxford type Ib, reading **RODET · R · B · ON · OXON**. Apparently unpublished with this surname.

By MR. LINECAR on behalf of MESSRS. SPINK:

A Charles I "Ormonde" shilling, struck on a flan cut from a piece of plate, still showing the hall-mark, a lion passant, and the letter R. This gives the date of the original plate as 1625. This rare piece was first brought to light by Mr. S. M. Spink, who wrote an account in the *Numismatic Circular* of 1900, col. 4067. Since then it has passed through the Tyrrell, Murdoch, and Gantz collections. The piece was illustrated both in the *Numismatic Circular* and on p. 55, Fig. 72, of *The Obsidional Money of the Great Rebellion*, by Dr. Nelson, in 1907.

By MR. A. E. BAGNALL:

1. Ancient British gold staters, inscribed (4), of Verica, Cunobelinus (2), and Dumnocoverus; Gaulish staters (6) of the Andecavi, the Morini, the Bellovaci, the Nervii, and the Boii (2); a triens of the Boii, and two quarter-staters, (1) as Evans D3, and (2) a Gaulish coin of the Aulerci Cenomani.
2. Stycas of Egfrith and, in silver, of Aldfrith; both very rare.

By MR. R. C. LOCKETT:

The gold penny of Edward the Confessor which was the subject of the paper.

Paper

The President read a paper by MR. D. F. ALLEN on a gold penny of Edward the Confessor, published on p. 259 of the *Journal*. In the discussion that took place on the question whether this coin was intended for ordinary currency Mr. H. H. King, demurring, pointed out the known Saxon gold coins came from small and unimportant mints, while none appeared to have been struck at the large important mints, London, Winchester, and Canterbury. Mr. Charles Johnson, present as a visitor, supported this view and suggested that the coins might have been made for offerings at shrines. The President and Mr. Albert Baldwin also spoke.

ORDINARY MEETING

26 FEBRUARY 1948

MR. C. E. BLUNT, *President, in the Chair*

The death was recorded of Mr. Frank E. Burton of Orston Hall, Notts.

The following were nominated for membership of the Society:

Captain Reginald Lee, Woodgate House, Uttoxeter, Staffs.

Mr. Hans M. F. Schulman, 545 Fifth Avenue, New York City, 17.

Mr. H. W. Holzer, 42-52 Layton Street, Elmhurst, New York, U.S.A.

Mr. George R. Blake, Rev. J. W. Clarke, and Mr. E. Wesander were elected Members of the Society.

EXHIBITIONS

By the TREASURER:

1. A penny of Canute of Stockbridge by an unpublished moneyer, *B.M.C.* xiv. + $\overline{\text{A}}$ LPOLD:ON BRYD1
2. A penny of Edward the Confessor of the so-called "Darenth" mint. *B.M.C.* xi. +PULFSIE ON DERNT or DIRNT

By MR. H. A. SEABY:

A pattern half-crown of Victoria 1884. One of the original suggestions for the coinage change that took place in 1887. The bust

is somewhat as the Jubilee bust, but the crown is flatter and small. *Obv.* legend VICTORIA D:G:BRITT:REG:F:D: no artist's signature. The reverse is very like the Jubilee reverse but the crown is different. BRITANNIARUM REGINA FID:DEF: 1884 To the right of the date is engraved the figure 9—presumably for the ninth suggestion.

By MR. PETER SEABY:

A penny of Henry I. *B.M.C.* type XV. EARDING:ON:BR

MR. H. W. TAFES:

1. A half-crown of Charles II of 1683 with plume under the bust; unpublished.
2. A half-crown of William IV of 1834 with the initials W.W. in Roman lettering.
3. Half-crowns of George IV of 1821, die varieties differing on reverse in leaves of thistle and stalks of shamrock.
4. "Godless" florins of Victoria, 1849, with and without W.W. at the side of the head.

Exhibitions in connexion with the papers

By the PRESIDENT:

1. Electrotype of a gold penny of Edward the Elder. The original is in the Musée Cantonal at Lausanne. Weight 81 grains.
2. Cast of a silver coin of the same type and moneyer -DEORWALD- in the British Museum.
3. Cast of a coin of the same moneyer, but of a type with bust; in the British Museum.
4. Henry VIII: a Canterbury penny of the first coinage, i.m. martlet; WA over shield; Warham; plugged but unpublished.
5. Henry VIII: a Durham penny of the first coinage, i.m. flaming star; TD by shield; Bishop Ruthall.
6. Henry VIII: a penny of Durham first coinage, i.m. spur rowel; DW by shield, cardinal's hat below. Struck between 1523 and 1526; Cardinal Wolsey.

By MR. LOCKETT:

Henry VIII: a Canterbury half-groat of the second coinage, *obv.* i.m. "uncertain mark", *rev.* i.m. rose; WA by shield; Warham; unpublished.

By MR. F. BALDWIN:

1. Henry VIII penny of Durham, first coinage, i.m. flaming star; TD by shield.
2. Henry VIII half-groat of Canterbury of Archbishop Warham; first coinage, i.m. cross fitchée; WA by shield.

By the SECRETARY:

1. A Canterbury half-groat of the first issue of Henry VIII with i.m. rose; as the last issue of Henry VII, but with the VII altered to VIII—probably the first Canterbury half-groat of Henry VIII; unpublished.
2. A York half-groat, similar to no. 1, with *obv.* i.m. martlet over rose, *rev.* i.m. martlet. Also a coin of Henry VII's last issue altered to become the first issue at York of Henry VIII.
3. A Durham penny of Henry VIII; *obv.* i.m. spur rowel = first coinage; *rev.* i.m. trefoil = second coinage; unpublished.

Papers

The PRESIDENT read a paper on a gold penny of Edward the Elder in the Musée Cantonal at Lausanne, published on p. 277.

The DIRECTOR read a paper on the ecclesiastical coinages of Henry VIII, a part of a large-scale paper on the coinage of this reign which will in due course appear in the *Journal*.

ORDINARY MEETING

31 MARCH 1948

MR. C. E. BLUNT, *President, in the Chair*

The following were nominated for membership of the Society:

Dr. Alec Kaplan, 2 Delville Circus, Germiston, South Africa.

Mr. John L. Dresser, 167 East 90th Street, New York City, 28, U.S.A.

Captain Reginald Lee, Mr. Hans M. F. Schulman, and Mr. H. W. Holzer were elected Members of the Society.

Exhibitions

By MR. H. A. SEABY:

1. A sovereign of 1828; unpublished.
2. A penny of Galway of Edward IV of English type reading *VIL LA GAL WEY*
3. A London penny of Edward I with Irish obverse presumed to be a contemporary forgery as the dies do not agree with any known dies, although previously passed as genuine.

By MR. H. H. KING:

1. A penny of Harthacnut of Lewes. Type 1. Bust to left. Unpublished moneyer. *+PUL • FRIC ON LEPEI*
2. A penny of Harthacnut of Steyning. Type 1a. *+HARDACNUT RE +FRIDI O STENIGE* Different dies from *B.M.C.* 21.

By MR. ALBERT BALDWIN:

1. A shilling of James II of 1685 with plumes in centre of the reverse. He would not vouch for its authenticity.
2. A Maundy fourpence of William III of 1697. Unique?

3. A pattern threepence of Elizabeth of 1575 by Derick Anthony; very few specimens known.

By MR. H. W. TAFES:

1. A half-crown of Charles I of the Tower mint of 1625; i.m. lis (Francis 1a); unpublished variety in the reading on the reverse and a variant of the obverse die.
2. A half-crown of William III of 1698 with edge reading UNDECIMO. An ordinary half-crown of 1698 for comparison.
3. A half-crown of William III of 1697; a rare date.

By MR. LIDDELL for MESSRS. SPINK:

1. A James II and VII pattern 60-shilling piece (Scots), 1688.
2. A James III and VIII pattern 60-shilling piece (Scots), 1716.
3. A James II pattern gun-money crown in silver, 1690.
4. A James II pattern gun-money half-crown in silver, 1690 (April).
5. A James II pattern gun-money shilling (lighter type), 1690 (May).
6. A George III pattern spade guinea, 1787, in silver. Believed unique in silver.

A discussion was held on the Publications Fund and its uses, in which many members took part.

ORDINARY MEETING

28 APRIL 1948

MR. C. E. BLUNT, *President, in the Chair*

The following were elected Members of the Society: Dr. Alec Kaplan and Mr. John L. Dresser.

Exhibitions

By MR. ALBERT BALDWIN and SIR JOHN HANHAM:

Britannia groats dated respectively 1862 and 1857.

Commenting on these two exhibits the Director read a letter from an official of the Royal Mint pointing out that the Mint records had no cognizance of the coins and that their issue was presumably irregular. The same letter also cast doubts on the legitimacy of other coins, including two half-sovereigns, dated 1829 and 1831, both with grained edges, now in the Ashmolean Museum. The Director also read a letter from Mr. Anthony Thompson of the Ashmolean Museum showing that the two half-sovereigns in question were apparently restrikes made in the year 1891.

By MR. L. FORRER for MESSRS. SPINK AND SON:

1. Claudius. AR. Cistophorus *Cohen* 3, struck at Pergamum; head of Claudius; *rev.* Temple of Rome and Augustus at Pergamum.

2. Claudius. AR. Cistophorus, *Cohen* 30, struck at Ephesus; *rev.* the famous Temple of Diana at Ephesus.
3. Claudius and Agrippina, *Cohen*, p. 273, 1. Jugate busts of Claudius and Agrippina; struck at Ephesus; *rev.* DIANA EPHESIA The Diana of Ephesus.

These coins, all in perfect condition, were pieces contemporary with St. Paul.

By MR. FRED. BALDWIN:

1. Carausius; gold solidus; *obv.* laureate bust to left; *rev.* CONCORDIA MILITVM
2. Allectus; the following bronze coins:
 - a. *Obv.* armoured bust to left; VIRTVS ALLECTI; *rev.* PAX AVG. S.A M L.
 - b. Armoured bust to right; VIRTVS ALLECTI; *rev.* PROVIDENTIA AVG S.A. M.L.
 - c. *Obv.* radiate bust to right; *rev.* FIDES MILITVM S.P. C.
 - d. *Obv.* radiate bust to right; *rev.* Father Thames seated in galley, VIRTVS AVG. Q.L.

The condition of these coins was most remarkable.

By MR. H. H. KING:

A Dominion of the Sea medal by Briot, showing bust of Charles I and on the reverse a warship. The medal, which was enclosed to form the lid of a box, was issued in assertion of Charles's claim to dominion of the sea in 1630.

By MR. H. W. TAFFS:

Two unites of James I, both very rare.

1. I.m. Lis.
2. I.m. Saltire Cross, struck over Plain Cross.

Paper

MR. L. FORRER gave a talk entitled "Reminiscences of Sixty Years, by a Coin Dealer".

ORDINARY MEETING

26 MAY 1948

MR. C. E. BLUNT, *President, in the Chair*

Exhibitions

By MR. ALBERT BALDWIN for MR. FRED BALDWIN:

1. Stephen. A penny, *B.M.C.* type VII, reading *GERARD:ON: NEDVN, and a cast of a similar coin in the Hunterian Museum. Mr. Elmore Jones read a note on these coins which will be published in a future number of the Journal.

2. George VI. South Africa Crown, 1948, reading **GEORGIVS SEXTVS REX**.

By MR. C. WILSON PECK:

Forgery of a ryal of Mary and Henry Darnley, 1566, reading **..HENRIC' & MARIA: DEI. GRA. R & R. SCOTORV** The legend on the genuine coin of this type reads **MARIA & HENRIC'**, &c.

By MR. D. MANGAKIS: three Short-Cross pennies:

1. Class VII (early) **SIMON · ON · CANT**, with pellet-barred **N**.
2. Class VIII **NICHOLAS · ON · LUN** (London).
3. Class VIII **IOHAN ON SANTED** (last two letters ligated, Bury St. Edmunds).

By MR. H. W. TAFFS:

A fabrication of what Sir John Evans thought would have been the English penny of Richard I if one were known. Some eight pieces are believed to have been struck and distributed by Sir John among his friends.

By the TREASURER:

Late Short-Cross pennies in illustration of his paper.

By MR. H. H. KING:

Henry I, penny of type XII, of Chichester (Andrew, type ix; Hks. 264) reading ***HENRICVS RE: *GODPINE: ON: DICE:** This coin was from slightly different dies from the specimen illustrated by Andrew as from the collection of Capt. R. J. H. Douglas.

Papers

Two short papers were read, one by MR. W. HURLEY on "Kentish Hop Tokens", and the other by the TREASURER, "A Note on Short Cross Pennies of Class VIII". This is published on p. 286.

ORDINARY MEETING

23 JUNE 1948

MR. C. E. BLUNT, *President, in the Chair*

The following was nominated for membership of the Society:

Mr. Peter Alan Rayner, 35 Tennyson Road, Harpenden, Herts.

Exhibitions

By the DIRECTOR:

1. Edward VI base shilling 1550 with *obv.* i.m. Y over swan.
2. " " 1549 " *rev.* " Y over grapple.

By the TREASURER:

1. William I penny, *B.M.C.* 2. **+FOLFPINE: ON: 2VD** (Sudbury). The only known Norman coin of this moneyer (**FOLCWINE**). Has been broken in two and mended.

2. Stephen penny, *B.M.C.* 7 [+R]ICARD:?:ON [-----] Unique with initial of surname.
- 3 and 4. Two rare Tealby coins of Henry II.
+WARNIR:[ON:NOR]A (Northampton), inner circle.
+W[IL]LEM:ON:2TA (Stafford).
5. A Short-Cross curiosity+**HEIMAIR:ON:LVN** ? Combination of **HENRI** and **AIMER**

By the SECRETARY:

1. Anglo-Gallic Gros or Florette of Henry V of his first issue, Jan.-Sept. 1419, in unusually fine state.
2. The same denomination of Charles VI, immediately preceding Henry V's first silver issue—to show what little difference there is between the two issues.
3. Three Anglo-Gallic sterlings of Edward III for a comparison of the lettering. Hewlett records varieties of stops, but does not mention lettering. Also a demi-sterling.

Exhibitions in connexion with the paper:

By MR. R. C. LOCKETT:

Two deniers of Boleslav III of Bohemia (967-99) copying coins of Ethelred II: *a.* Head and hand type; *b.* Hand type obverse and reverse.

By the PRESIDENT:

1. Charlemagne Denaro of Milan.
2. Papal denarii of Leo VI and the Emperor Lothaire I (847-55), John VIII and the Emperor Charles the Fat (872-82), Stephen VI and the Emperor Arnulf (896), John IX and the Emperor Lambert (898-900), Agapitus and Alberic the Patrician (946-54).

Papers

By MR. S. RIGOLD: "The Trail of the Easterlings."

By the PRESIDENT: "On Three Italian Coins imitating Anglo-Saxon Types."

ORDINARY MEETING

22 SEPTEMBER 1948

MR. C. E. BLUNT, *President, in the Chair*

The following was nominated for membership of the Society:

Mr. Herbert C. F. Brazenor, Art Gallery and Museum, North Gate House, Church Street, Brighton, 1, Sussex.

Mr. Peter Alan Rayner was elected a Member of the Society.

Exhibitions

By THE TREASURER: Pennies of Stephen type 7:

1. (★F)ELIPE:ON:P--EN?? ? Pevensey. Unpublished moneyer and new name for reign.
2. ★EVERDARD:-- PARPI Warwick. Unpublished type for the mint.
3. (★h)VE:ON ? mint.
4. Cast of an unpublished coin in the Hunterian Museum, Mule type 2/type 7. ★A--RE ON: GIPES Ipswich, exhibited with
5. A penny of Type 2 for comparison purposes.

By MR. O. E. C. THEOBALD:

1. Charles I Tower half-crown, i.m. Sun type 5: unpublished; *obv.* horse and rider to left within beaded inner circle, sword slanting backwards, scarf flowing in two parts, horse's head turned slightly, tail rather thin and flowing away from horse, CAROLVS. D:G:MAG:BRI:FRA:ET:HIB:REX *Rev.* as normal Type 5.
2. Charles I Tower half-crown, i.m. Sun; normal type 5.

By COMMANDER R. P. MACK: Saxon and Norman pennies:

Wulfred. An unpublished type with A in centre of reverse (*ex.* Grantley 895). Berhtwulf. Henry I Type 13, Sandwich. Henry I Type 15. (?). Robert de Stutville—a fragment.

By MR. ALBERT BALDWIN in connexion with his paper:

1. Plaster casts, obverse and reverse, of a new coin of Charles I in the Hunterian Museum, the reverse showing the Declaration round a shield and dated 1642.
2. Charles I Oxford £3, 1642, showing continuous legend on reverse.
3. Charles I Shrewsbury silver half-pound and a Tower crown, Type 3a; obverse puncheons for king and horse similar.
4. Charles I Tower half-crowns, type 4; four specimens for comparison.

By MR. PETER SEABY:

Nine fifteenth-century lead tokens.

By MR. R. C. CARLYON-BRITTON:

1. Groat of Richard III; i.m. halved sun and rose, pellet on breast, with rose or cinquefoil on the left breast; *ex* Grantley Collection, lot 1462.
2. Elizabeth sixpence; i.m. lion, undated. The B.M. has one, i.m. crown, undated.
3. Henry VIII Irish harp groat countermarked with a quatrefoil of four pellets.
4. Edward IV Bouchier halfpenny, Canterbury; i.m. pall; nothing in field; unpublished.

By DR. CARTER:

A groat of Edward IV's light issue with a rose on the left breast for comparison with Mr. Carlyon-Britton's groat of Richard III.

By the DIRECTOR:

Seven casts of coins of Henry VIII and Edward VI to illustrate his paper.

By the SECRETARY:

One gold and eighteen silver coins of Henry VIII and Edward VI to illustrate the Director's paper.

Papers

By the SECRETARY:

"The Base Coinage of Henry VIII and Edward VI 1545-1551", by Mr. C. A. Whitton.

By MR. ALBERT BALDWIN:

"An Unpublished Half-crown of Charles I."

ORDINARY MEETING

27 OCTOBER 1948

MR. C. E. BLUNT, *President, in the Chair*

The resignation of Mrs. Julia Askew was announced.

Mr. Herbert C. F. Brazenor was elected a Member of the Society.

Exhibitions

By MR. G. V. DOUBLEDAY: Six coins of Æthelred II, type *B.M.C.* iia and iib (East Anglian Mints), illustrating the transition to the different style of bust on the rare class iib:

- | | | | |
|----|------|---------------------|-----------|
| 1. | iia. | Canterbury, moneyer | LEOFRIC. |
| 2. | „ | Ipswich, „ | BRANTINC. |
| 3. | „ | „ „ | LEOIRIC. |
| 4. | „ | „ „ | PALTFERÐ. |
| 5. | „ | „ „ | „ „ |
| 6. | „ | Norwich „ | LIVINC. |

By MR. H. A. SEABY:

1. Berwick farthing of Edward II. From irons supplied from the Tower, and corresponding to the penny and halfpenny of type XI (Fox). The farthing was hitherto unknown of Berwick.
2. Berwick halfpenny of Edward I. The usual type from local dies; Blunt, type IIIb.
3. Edward I. A continental imitation of an Edward penny.

By MR. PETER SEABY:

1. Edward the Confessor, penny, *B.M.C.* type III var.; long cross on reverse without inner circle and single pellets in two angles; reading +GODRI ON - LION
2. Henry of Anjou (?), a contemporary forgery, struck on copper with traces of silvering on reverse, reading: *obv.* (Stephen, type I) STIEFN.. *rev.* (Henry I, type XV) ALGA(R):ON:E[...]C
3. John, Short-cross penny with sceptre in left hand and legend beginning to right, annulet before RE, reading: *obv.* hENRICVS RE: *rev.* RVLRE ON LVN

Paper

MR. P. V. HILL read a paper entitled "The Sub-Roman Coinage in the Dark Ages". It is hoped to publish this paper in a future number of the *Journal*.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

30 NOVEMBER 1948

MR. C. E. BLUNT, *President, in the Chair*

The following were nominated for membership of the Society:

Mr. David Harkness, 19 Westborough Drive, Halifax, Yorks.

Lt.-Col. E. N. Trevor, Tudor Cottage, 128 Priory Lane, London, S.W. 15.

Presentation of the Sandford Saltus Gold Medal to Mr. R. C. Lockett

The President, addressing Mr. Lockett, said that members had voted the award to him of the highest honour that it was in the power of the Society to bestow. This they did, the President said, not only to show their appreciation of Mr. Lockett's paper on the Truro mint of Charles I but also to mark the recognition of the great service Mr. Lockett had rendered to numismatists and to the Society in making his unrivalled collection available to students in so generous a manner.

Mr. Lockett replying, said he had no idea that his name had been even suggested for this high honour, much less that it had been bestowed on him. He very deeply appreciated the honour. He went on to recall the first stirrings in him of interest in coins, fifty years ago, when his mother gave him a copy of Humphreys's *Coin Collector's Manual*. He treasured those volumes to this day, and produced one from his pocket in an appropriately worn condition. Mr. Lockett went on to describe how his interest had ranged from one series to another and his gratification when Mr. Robinson had proposed that a record of his Greek coins should form a number of the *Sylloge* of Greek coins being issued under the auspices of the British Academy. His great delight, said Mr. Lockett, lay in the study of his coins, and it was a source of satisfaction to him that inviting students to come and pore over his trays often led to his learning something new about

his own coins. Mr. Lockett reminded his audience how much collectors owed to the coin dealers, who, he said, were at great pains to search out for us the coins we needed for our study. He concluded with a tribute to the President and Officers of the Society.

Presidential Address

The President then read his annual Address, and at its conclusion the Secretary proposed a vote of thanks to the President. This was seconded by Mr. H. H. King and carried unanimously.

Exhibitions

By the President for MR. W. G. WALLACE:

Results of experiments in die-making. Dies made from punches stamped into cold metal, (a) mild steel, (b) iron. The pieces were uniface.

By MR. W. SLAYTER:

A large silver medal to commemorate the expedition to the Antarctic in which Capt. Scott, R.N., and his companions lost their lives.

By MR. A. E. BAGNALL:

Seventeen coins of Charles I, including a silver pound piece of Oxford (1642); crowns of Shrewsbury (2), with large and small horse, Truro (i.m. Rose) and the Tower (4), i.m.s Lis, Cross on steps, Castle, Harp; half-crowns, of Worcester (i.m. *obv.* 1 pear, *rev.* 3 pears) and the Tower (2), i.m.s Plume and Portcullis; shillings of York (3) and the Tower (2), i.m.s (P) and Star, and 30s. Scots, i.m. Thistle.

The result of the ballot for the election of Officers and Council for the ensuing year was announced:

President: Mr. C. E. Blunt.

Vice-Presidents: Mr. A. E. Bagnall, Dr. E. C. Carter, Miss Helen Farquhar, Mr. H. H. King, Mr. R. C. Lockett, Mr. H. W. Taffs.

Director: Mr. C. A. Whitton.

Treasurer: Mr. F. Elmore Jones.

Librarian: Mr. D. Mangakis.

Secretary: Mr. E. J. Winstanley.

Council: Dr. F. O. Arnold, Col. M. H. Grant, Sir John Hanham, Bt., and Messrs. Albert Baldwin, G. V. Doubleday, W. Hurley, L. A. Lawrence, H. A. Parsons, E. Wilson Peck, H. A. Seaby, P. H. Sellwood, C. B. Smith, J. Clifford Thompson, and L. V. W. Wright.

EXPENDITURE AND INCOME ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 OCTOBER 1947

INCOME

[illegible]

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31 OCTOBER 1947

1946	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	1946	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
	—	—	—	Subscriptions received in advance		2	4	8					Investments at cost:						
76	4	0		Subscriptions compounded	66	15	0						£250 2½ per cent. National War Bonds	250	0	0			
6	11	0		Sundry creditors and outstanding charges	6	12	8						£833. 5s. 1d. 3 per cent. Defence Bonds	833	5	1			
				<i>J. Sanford Saltus Medal Fund:</i>					1,083	5	1		<i>J. Sanford Saltus Medal Fund:</i>				1,083	5	1
				Capital Account	166	14	11						£166. 14s. 11d. 3 per cent. Defence Bonds				166	14	11
212	15	0		Income Account	29	2	1		166	14	11		Library at cost				151	12	5
—	—	—			195	17	0		151	12	5		Furniture at cost				10	7	6
				<i>Publications and Research Fund</i>	151	12	6		10	7	6		Cash at Bank:						
				<i>General Purposes Fund:</i>									Bank Current Account	106	7	11			
				Balance as at 31 October 1946	1,712	1	10						Post Office Savings Bank	489	5	11			
				Less Excess of Expenditure over															
				Income for year.	127	9	11		595	11	11						595	13	10
£1,712	1	10			1,584	11	11												
									£2,007	11	10						£2,007	13	9
£2,007	11	10			£2,007	13	9		£2,007	11	10						£2,007	13	9

We beg to report to the Members that we have obtained all the information and explanations we have required. No credit has been taken for Subscriptions in arrear. We have examined the above Balance Sheet with the Books and Vouchers of the Society and are of opinion that subject to the above remark the same is properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Society's affairs, according to the best of our information and the explanations given to us, and as shown by the Books of the Society.

GILBERTS, HALLETT, & EGLINGTON, *Chartered Accountants*,
51 Coleman Street, London, E.C. 2.

12 April 1948.

ADDRESS BY CHRISTOPHER E. BLUNT, ESQ., O.B.E., F.S.A.
PRESIDENT OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

Delivered at the Anniversary Meeting, 30 November 1948

ONCE again it is my privilege to report to you on the affairs of the Society for the year now ending. Interest in numismatics continues unabated: the number of new Members at twenty-one falls short by only one of the number elected in 1947. Against this we have to record the loss of two Members by death and one by resignation.

Numismatics generally suffered a severe loss by the death of our Royal Member, H.M. King Victor Emanuel III of Italy. You will be familiar with that great work of his, the *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum*, begun in 1910 and continued volume by volume up to the beginning of the late war. The last to be published appeared in 1940 and in accordance with his generous practice His Majesty had ordered a copy to be sent to this Society. Hostilities with Italy supervened and it was with as much delight as surprise that I received from the Italian Embassy only a few months ago this, the nineteenth volume, with a note explaining that the war had prevented its earlier delivery. These nineteen sumptuous volumes cover the coinage of the greater part of Italy in medieval and modern times. Sicily and the later coinage of Naples remain to be done, and it is greatly to be hoped that the death of the prime mover in this venture will not prevent its being brought to a fitting conclusion.

The other Member whose death I must record is Mr. Frank Burton, a member for over thirty-five years. He contributed to the earlier numbers of the *Journal* papers on "The 1st Nottinghamshire Regiment, their Honours and Medals"; on "South Notts. Yeomanry Medals"; on "Arnold Village Tokens", and on "Some Badges of Charles I". Mr. Burton was a keen collector of the coins of the Nottingham mint and by his will these coins passed to the Nottingham Castle Museum. There they will be fittingly housed in the town, perhaps in the very building, where they originated. It must be realized, however, that bequests of this kind raise a serious problem for the numismatist, especially when, as in this case, the coins are of national as well as of local importance. It is right that provincial museums should seek to possess as representative a collection as possible of the coins of the district, but in doing so they incur an obligation to make such material available for the use of students generally, some of whom will find it difficult to see the actual coins as often as they would need. We shall all, I think, agree that every encouragement should be given to the development of local interest in numismatics, and I suggest that the proper solution to meet the need of the wider circle of students is for provincial museums, where, as in the case of Nottingham, they possess a collection of importance, to publish a small catalogue

if possible with illustrations. In this work the Society would gladly offer advice and assistance.

THE YEAR'S WORK

The session has been marked by several interesting papers on controversial subjects. In January Mr. D. F. Allen, inspired by the recent rediscovery of the unique gold penny of Edward the Confessor, dealt with the difficult problems presented by the few surviving gold coins of the later Anglo-Saxon period, and in February, as a paper complementary to Mr. Allen's, I read a note on the unique gold penny of Eadward the Elder now at Lausanne. Mr. Allen was inclined to regard these peculiar gold coins as periodical attempts to create a gold currency in this country and adduced certain documentary evidence in support of his contention. The limited time at his disposal before his departure for the Far East prevented his investigating the documentary material as thoroughly as he would have wished, and there is certainly here a field where further research could usefully be carried out. In considering the purpose for which these coins were struck some weight, it would seem, must attach to the fact that the Edward the Confessor coin was found in a church, the Offa gold dinar in Rome, and the Eadward the Elder penny on the road to Rome, and, while opinions were divided, the feeling was expressed by some of those present that religious rather than commercial considerations might perhaps have prompted the issues and that the coins may have been specially prepared to enable gold to be offered at shrines.

Another controversial subject was broached when Mr. Philip V. Hill read a paper on the currency in Britain in the Dark Ages. On this subject numismatists are divided into two clearly defined groups: those who believe that coins were issued throughout and those who believe that the economy of the country, having become an internal one, called for no great amount of currency and that consequently the coins surviving from earlier times were sufficient for the purpose. Mr. Hill made it clear that he held the former view and gave his reasons which it is hoped to publish in the *Journal*. It is some years since the Roman and sub-Roman coins of Britain have come before the Society. They are, however, as much a part of our national currency as the coins of the Ancient Britons, an offshoot of the Greek series, and it is right that we should include them in our studies. I hope we may have further papers on the subject.

Perhaps one of the most delightful evenings of the session was the occasion of a talk by Mr. L. Forrer on his sixty years' reminiscences as a coin-dealer. Members found it hard to believe that, as a young man, Mr. Forrer had been rejected for the Swiss army on grounds of health, but were quick to realize that what may have been a military loss proved undoubtedly a numismatic gain.

At two meetings Mr. Whitton gave us some of the results of his researches into the coinages of Henry VIII and Edward VI. Consider-

ing their recent date and the stable condition of the country, these coinages present a surprising number of problems. In themselves they are complicated by the various steps taken to debase the currency to finance Henry's extravagances, and the proven fact that for half his reign Edward's coins bore the name of Henry only serves to confuse the issue further. We shall publish Mr. Whitton's papers as soon as space permits.

In past addresses I have referred to the importance of having some knowledge of the continental series before one can form any considered opinion of the coinage of this country. In theory I believe most numismatists agree on this point, but many are daunted in practice by the complexity of the issues and by the difficulty of obtaining the appropriate literature. A contribution to this end was made by Mr. Stewart Rigold, who gave us a paper entitled "The Trail of the Easterlings" in which he discussed the commercial relations between England and the Continent at the height of the Middle Ages and the effects on the coinage of this relationship. I will not dwell on this paper as it will appear in the *Journal*. In a second paper on an analogous subject I described four Italian coins showing marked Anglo-Saxon influence.

At another meeting Mr. Hurley spoke on "Kentish Hop-tokens", using as a basis for his talk the material collected over many years by the Rev. R. W. Acworth. And as is now usual there were several shorter papers, among them two by Mr. Elmore Jones, the first of which provides what seems a satisfactory identification of a mint of Stephen's reading Hedun. The other dealt with the latest coins of the short-cross issue and rebutted a suggestion lately made that they more properly fall earlier in the series. A third short paper was given by Mr. Albert Baldwin on a remarkable and entirely new half-crown of Charles I in the Hunterian Collection at Glasgow. Many of the great rarities in Dr. Hunter's collection are illustrated in Ruding's *Annals*, a book that in spite of its age is a mine of information even to-day, but for some reason unknown a number are omitted of which this half-crown is one. Perhaps it was acquired after Ruding had made his notes on the collection.

From what has been said you will, I think, agree that an active and useful year has been spent. But before leaving the year's work mention must be made of a second Coin Day, held in the summer in Regent's Park and again well attended. A committee has now been appointed, on which this Society is represented, to organize a similar gathering in 1949 for which it is clear there exists a lively demand.

MUSEUM ACQUISITIONS

It has seemed to me that this address might be a suitable medium through which to apprise Members of the more significant additions made to our public collections, and this has been made possible by the co-operation of the respective Keepers.

The most important acquisition of the British Museum has been 110 "Tealby" coins of Henry II. These were selected from Mr. Lawrence's unrivalled collection of this series and were secured in time for them to be embodied in the forthcoming catalogue of "Tealby" coins in which they filled many gaps. Other acquisitions include some hundred English medals of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries from the Fairbairn Collection and, as is customary, small purchases were made from Treasure Trove: from Swinton six short-cross pennies; from Bingley (Yorks.) four coins of Elizabeth and Charles I, and from Glympton (Oxon.) two coins of James I and Charles I.

The main additions at the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge have been in the Ancient British and associated series. Of the British series there was an uninscribed stater and quarter-stater, and of the Gaulish series an early stater of the Arverni, found near Vichy, and a one-third stater.

At the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford it has been a quieter year in the English series after two or three years of exceptional activity. But a William II penny (type II) of Wallingford (moneyer Colbern) has been acquired providing a new obverse die. Disappointment followed the bequest of the A. R. Bayley cabinet. The catalogue of the collection showed that the English series contained a number of important coins which would have been very welcome additions to the collections now so usefully brought together at the Heberden coin-room. But it has not proved possible to trace the English cabinet and only a single coin, a Charles I pound piece that had strayed into the Roman cabinet, has been secured.

PUBLICATIONS

The year now ending has seen the appearance of Dr. Sutherland's work on the *Anglo-Saxon Gold Coinage in the Light of the Crondall Hoard*, an admirable and scholarly book that in fact constitutes a corpus of the coins of this rare series. Dr. Sutherland had previously given us a synopsis of his conclusions in a paper read before the Society two years ago. Publication gives the opportunity to study these with the care they deserve and there can be little doubt that the author is right in his submission that this series presents a far wider range of types than had hitherto been recognized. The number of die identities occurring in the Crondall hoard, a feature that could only be established when the coins became available for detailed study, strongly suggests that the coins originated in this country, though by the same token a date of issue corresponding more closely to the date of the deposit than the author proposes would seem also to be implied. This is not the place to consider such questions in detail, but a full review will appear in the *Journal*.

The American Numismatic Society has rendered a service to numismatics generally by inaugurating a periodical pamphlet in which are listed and briefly reviewed all publications connected with our subject as they appear.

A good example of the work that can be done by provincial centres is the publication of a small booklet on the coins of the mint of Ilchester. This forms one of a series on the antiquities of the town and neighbourhood. Ideally it should have had one or perhaps two plates, but no doubt questions of expense precluded this.

Volume vi of the current series of the *Numismatic Chronicle* has several short notes of interest to us. The most important is the record of a hoard of twenty-three sceats found at Southampton. Hoards of this period are comparatively rare and are always important in a series that bears no mark to indicate where the coins were produced. In this case only two types were represented. Of the Celtic-cross type (*B.M.C.* type 39) there were two specimens and of the facing head/bird type (*B.M.C.* type 49) there were twenty-one. It is to be noted that both types had previously been found in Southampton. Another note records a new moneyer (Cobba) for Ecgberht, King of Wessex. The discovery is important as it definitely disposes of the attribution to Ecgberht, King of Kent, of a somewhat similar coin on which only the last three letters of the moneyer's name could be seen. It had been assumed that the full name was Babba, who is known as a moneyer of the Kentish Ecgberht's.

The first part of volume vii, which is now in our hands, contains notes by Mr. Allan on the mint of Ayr, by Dr. Nelson on some unpublished Saxon and Norman coins, by Dr. Sutherland on a curiously countermarked coin of James I, and records of various hoards. Of these the most important is one of seven Ancient British coins found in Lincolnshire.

EXHIBITIONS

I have been particularly glad to see an increase lately in the number and quality of exhibitions at our meetings and if this is maintained consideration will be given to the possibility of providing a plate in the *Journal* to illustrate the more important of them. The exhibition and recording of new varieties, always a matter of importance, may now, in the uncertain days in which we live, have become a matter of urgent duty. If war were to occur it must involve destruction on a scale hitherto unseen and coin collections will inevitably perish in it. The best means at our disposal for ensuring that knowledge is recorded for the use of future generations is to place it on record by publication and if possible by illustration. The dispersal of the *Journal* is widespread and, come what may, some copies will survive. The particulars to be published should, I suggest, be as detailed as is necessary to provide a full record on the assumption that the coin is lost. Weight should be given and die-relationship. I hope that Members will continue to lay before the meeting any new or significant variety that they possess, and thus discharge their responsibility as life-tenants of a treasure that may perhaps be unique, and I think that the same consideration should apply to coins that Members may find in public collections.

PREMISES

The continued lack of premises in which we can house our library and hold our meetings is a source of great concern to the Council. Books are essential to study and our meetings should provide the occasion to consult them. Numerous efforts have been made to find accommodation, but so far without success. I take this opportunity therefore to acquaint Members with our requirements and would ask each one to keep an active watch for anything that might suit us, and either to obtain particulars or to send the address to me. Our requirements are the exclusive use of a moderate-sized room sufficient to take our library and the use for our meetings of a room to hold 30-50 persons, and we must meet in central London. We cannot compete in rent against a commercial undertaking, but we should be able to pay a figure proportionate to the space we occupy in the premises of, say, another learned Society. I attach great importance to our securing premises with as little delay as possible. The lack of them is impeding our work and denying to Members the ready use of the library that they are entitled to expect.

THE NATIONAL COLLECTION

The National Collection is, as most Members will be aware, available for inspection in the temporary premises in the British Museum to which it returned after the war. The old Coin-Room was, of course, destroyed, and Members will be pleased to learn that a new and improved Coin Room will be opened in the comparatively near future. We shall all look forward to seeing the National Collection housed once again as it should be.

Whether it will be possible for the Museum to open occasionally in the evenings is not yet known, but I am encouraged to hope that this may prove practicable by seeing in the third report of the Standing Commission on Museums and Galleries that the National Museum of Wales has overcome the obstacles and is, from April to October, open one day a week until 8 o'clock. This should prove of real value to many working people. What can be done in Cardiff can surely be done in London!

There is also the question of catalogues. The Greek and Roman series are recorded in a series of excellent catalogues that must command world respect. The series of British coins in the Museum is the finest in the world, yet in sixty-five years only four volumes of catalogue have appeared bringing the record down to the year 1154. A fifth volume is now in the press, but thirty-two years ago, in the preface to the first volume of *Norman Kings*, this was foreshadowed "in a few years". We are all fully conscious of the problems and difficulties that have slowed up the intended programme, but I know the view to be strongly held by Members of this Society that so important a collection merits a complete catalogue and I know too how much the lack of it has served to obstruct our work.

What I would strongly urge on behalf of the Society is that the programme of future publications should include provision for the cataloguing of the remainder of the British series over, say, a period of twenty-five years. It will be a formidable task, but the results produced by the classical side show that formidable tasks can be successfully, even brilliantly, undertaken.

I have already detained you too long, but I cannot close without expressing on behalf of Members the appreciation we all feel for the work of the Officers of the Society. To the Secretary, as always, we owe our greatest debt, and the Treasurer deserves our thanks especially for his successful efforts in collecting arrears of subscriptions. The Director has successfully piloted another volume of the *Journal* through the press, and the Librarian is alert for the day when he can range our books on our own shelves in our own rooms. To all of them I extend my warmest thanks.

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